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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-006  
Monday  
11 January 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-006

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11 January 1993

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### 'Text' of Somali Reconciliation Agreement

AB0801192493 Paris AFP in English 1855 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Addis Ababa, Jan 8 (AFP)—Herewith the text of an agreement signed here Friday [8 January] by leaders of Somalia's warring factions, providing for a ceasefire and national reconciliation conference on Somalia.

"We the undersigned Somali political leaders...have agreed on the following points:

"1. The convening of a National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa no later than the first week of April 1993.

"2. The declaration of an immediate and binding ceasefire in all parts of the country under the control of the respective political movements.

"3. The immediate cessation of all hostile propaganda against each other and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation and peace.

"4. The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), in consultation with the relevant regional and sub-regional organizations, will be responsible for the logistical preparations of the National Reconciliation Conference.

"4. [numeral as received] The establishment of further mechanisms for the continuation of free dialogue amongst all political factions and leaders in Somalia in preparation.

"5. To continue and enhance our full and unrestrained cooperation with all international organisations working inside and outside Somalia to distribute humanitarian relief to our people.

"6. To commit ourselves without reservation to facilitating the free movement of Somali people throughout the entire country as a means to confidence-building before the National Reconciliation Conference.

"We further pledge to reach final agreement on the following points and issue a separate communique before 11 January 1993:

"a) The establishment of the modalities for implementing the ceasefire amongst all warring parties and the creation of a mechanism for disarmament.

"b) The agenda of the National Reconciliation Conference.

"c) The criteria for participation at the National Reconciliation Conference.

"The agreement, signed in Addis Ababa on 8 January 1993, shall be considered binding on all the undersigned parties henceforth and all signatories shall be obliged to secure the support and implementation of this agreement amongst their movements and followers."

### U.S. Involvement Noted

EA0801164393 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in Somali to Neighboring Countries 1200 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Somali factional leaders who are now attending an important conference in Addis Ababa today agreed to work together for peace and hold a national reconciliation conference in April. The leaders have also agreed to organize a formal cease-fire before the April national reconciliation conference.

Among the 14 Somali organizations participating in the conference is General Mohamed Farah Aidid, whose military barracks in Mogadishu were destroyed and captured by American troops yesterday.

Diplomatic sources at the conference say that the U.S. Government, the United Nations, and the Horn of Africa Committee on Somali Affairs will participate in the forthcoming national reconciliation conference.

[Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic, the pro-Ali Mahdi Mohamed station, in Somali at 1400 GMT adds the following: "The current Somali national reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa today arrived at temporary agreements. They are:

["1. To convene a national conference in April with the aim of resolving the existing problems in the country;

["2. To form a national interim government;

["3. To organize a cease-fire throughout Somalia before April, when a national conference will be convened.

["It also is reported that the conference will be attended by representatives of the United Nations, the U.S. Government, the [passage indistinct] of the Horn of Africa, the Arab League, the OAU and Islamic Conference Organization. The conference, which has now entered its fifth and final day, is expected to generate results that will help end the problems faced by the Somali people."]

### Conference Said Set for 15 Mar

EA0901191093 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1400 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] The reconciliation conference of the Somali political organizations, which took place in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, has officially ended, and preliminary resolutions on holding the forthcoming great conference, God willing, have been passed.

The meeting ended last night, and the 14 organizations which took part signed joint preliminary agreements including:

1. to hold the great national conference in Addis Ababa on 15 March;

2. to implement a cease-fire throughout the country, and at the same time to collect both light and heavy weapons;

3. to stop the exchange of reports among the organizations, and turn to general reconciliation;

4. to prepare the agenda for the great national conference to be held in Addis Ababa on 15 March.

Dr. Butrus-Ghali has welcomed these preliminary agreements reached by the Somali political organizations and hopes they will make a great contribution to the efforts for [words indistinct] the government and Somali people.

[Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali at 1700 GMT adds the following: "The Somali leaders meeting in Addis Ababa yesterday signed an agreement calling for a great national reconciliation conference to be held in Addis Ababa on 15 March.

["The date of the conference was meant to be in April but was brought forward after the Ethiopian leaders requested a change, since they will then be occupied with the Eritrean referendum. They asked for the conference to be held in March which was approved by the 15 [as heard] Somali organizations.

["The leaders of Somali organizations today started discussing ways of implementing cease-fire agreements and ways of attending the conference to discuss the (?future) of Somalia."]

#### **Aidid Said 'Quiet' During Talks**

*EA1001153493 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali 0330 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Yesterday the Somali leaders meeting in Addis Ababa discussed forming an executive committee to monitor the cease-fire agreement to be led by the UN, the United States, and the OAU. However, General Aidid, who is the leader of one of the organizations fighting in Somalia, was reported to have kept quiet on the matter. As reported by many representatives, Gen.

Aidid wants every armed group to hold its present positions and fears the majority view which is opposed [words indistinct].

The majority of the Somali organizations support Ali Mahdi's [Mohamed] view, that all Somali factions should return to their recognized home territory. Gen. Aidid opposes this idea. [passage omitted]

#### **UN, OAU Secretaries Discuss Regional Situation**

*EA0801142893 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1700 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] The UN secretary general, Mr. Butrus-Ghali and the OAU secretary general, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, issued a joint statement after discussing the social and economic situation in African countries, the current ongoing changes, and the conflicts on the continent. According to information received from the OAU headquarters, the two officials expressed their satisfaction with the conference held in Addis Ababa on national reconciliation in Somalia. The secretary generals, after noting that the Somali conflict can only be resolved by the Somali people themselves, called on the Somali political organizations to resolve their differences and work together. Both officials said they would continue their efforts to find a solution to the Somali problem, and they called on the international community to give humanitarian aid to the Somali people and to support the country's rehabilitation.

The officials pointed out that the social and economic situation in Africa was worrying, and said the problem had to be solved by common effort. They also said the international community must give the necessary support for the development and growth of the continent.

Dr. Salim expressed his satisfaction with the UN secretary general's call for a special meeting in Geneva on Africa's social and economic situation.

## Cameroon

### Government, Civil Servant Salaries Reduced

AB1001172193

[Editorial Report] Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French at 1900 GMT on 8 January broadcasts a number of decrees on the reduction of salaries for civil servants and other state functionaries, including government members.

The first decree reduces salary indices of state functionaries by a percentage ranging from 4 to 20 percent "from 1 January 1993."

A second decree adjusting the remuneration of staff and functionaries of the public sector, states:

"The monthly basic salary of public sector employees on contracts or on fixed salary shall, from 1 January 1993, be modified as follows: grade five: minus 4 percent; grade six: minus 9 percent; grade seven: minus 12 percent; grade eight: minus 15 percent; grade nine: minus 16 percent; grade 10: minus 18 percent; and grades 11 and 12: minus 20 percent."

A third decree readjusts "the monthly remunerations of government members and allied categories." It says, among other things, that "the monthly basic salary of government members and allied categories shall be reduced by 20 percent. The minister of finance shall be responsible for enforcing the clauses hereof. This decree, which takes effect from the date of signature, shall be registered and published according to the emergency procedures and shall be incorporated in the official gazette in French and English."

Other decrees repeal a previous ones dealing with fringe benefits of civil servants and other government functionaries such as family and housing allowances. On family allowance, the decree says:

"The family allowances shall include the birth allowance and the family salary supplements. This decree shall apply to workers under the General Statute of the civil service, magistrates of the Judicial Order, prison service functionaries, and public service auxiliaries." As far as housing allowances are concerned, the decree says: "Functionaries and state employees under the labor code, falling between grades seven and 12, who do not enjoy official accommodations, shall receive a monthly rent allowance, subject to a tax whose rate shall be equivalent to 8 percent of the basic salary of his grade."

### Finance Minister Gives Reasons

AB1001175593 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French 1900 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Less than 24 hours after the government's decision to reduce salaries of civil servants and state functionaries, the minister of finance, who is in charge of

paying salaries for state functionaries, held a news conference this afternoon to explain the reasons for the substantial salary cuts. Tchato Hilaire Koro has the details:

[Koro] Reporters from the CAMEROON TRIBUNE, the CRTV, and the Ministry of Communication attended Minister Antoine Ntsimi's three-part news conference. First, the finance minister insisted on stressing that it was not easy for the government to take such measures, which affect not only the minister, but also the average civil servant, because civil servants with grades ranging from five to 12 are called upon to make sacrifices. The reduction ranges from 4 to 20 percent, which is an average cut of 12 percent from our salaries.

The second phase of Minister Antoine Ntsimi's explanation concerned why the government made such a painful choice. The government had to lay off some 50,000 civil servants and other state functionaries and or keep everybody and have a general salary cut. This measure became necessary because the government could no longer continue to pay the salaries of 180,000 people on the payroll of the Cameroonian Government. In order to avoid massive layoffs, the government took this action.

Minister Antoine Ntsimi then disclosed what the government expects from this measure: He said the state will save 62 billion CFA francs annually, and in the long run, this money will enable the government to pay its debts to businessmen and suppliers and even salary arrears of civil servants. Also, through this salary cut—one of the conditions imposed by our financial backers—the Cameroonian Government intends to resume negotiations for a third agreement with the IMF and World Bank. The final goal of all these measures is to enable Cameroon to revive its economy once and for all and get back on the path of growth. [passage omitted]

## Chad

### Interior Ministry Registers 2 Political Parties

AB1001211093 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] The Ministry of Interior has just given two political parties the license to operate. They are the Union for Peace and Democracy led by Aka Miwe and the National Alliance for Democracy, Development, and Renovation—ANDR, for short—whose chairman is Joseph Yodoyman, prime minister and head of government. This brings to 30 the total number of registered political parties.

## Congo

### Decrees Signed on Early Legislative Elections

AB0801180493 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Early legislative elections will be held in a few months in our country. Two decrees were signed and published to this effect today in Brazzaville.

The first decree was on the creation of the national commission for the organization and monitoring of the early legislative elections. The commission will be in charge of the organization and the monitoring of the elections and will also set up the modalities to designate the members of commission as an independent organ of the government.

The second decree appointed a lawyer, Mr. (Jean Martin Bemba), as commission chairman with the rank and prerogatives of a minister of state. Mr. (Bemba) is assisted in his task by Mr. (Aga Kan Not), also appointed by decree with the rank and prerogatives of a minister of state.

### Minister Gives Reasons for Salary Restoration

*AB1101154793 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] A few days ago, the government announced the dismissal of some civil servants recruited in 1991. The way this issue was handled and its social consequences have been discussed at length by the public. Those affected by this decision, trade unions and the civil service, have reacted to the decision taken. The minister of civil service, Mr. Jean-Prospere Koyo, makes the following clarifications:

[Begin Koyo recording] I think because there were mistakes in the processing of the documents on the civil servants recruited and today there is doubt over the quality of work done, the Ministry, under the head of state's personal instructions, is suspending the measures taken. Therefore, salaries which were suspended are going to be restored for everybody. But, meanwhile, a commission is going to begin work next week on the documents in question, in accordance with existing laws, collaborating and consulting with all social partners. That commission is going to work so that everybody's rights are respected. But it must be made clear that, the issue of laying off personnel in the civil service remains topical. The state can no longer continue to pay people with fudged degrees, cheats, impostors, or even foreigners. The issue is still a pertinent one, but it has to be handled in accordance with existing laws, and in constant consultation with and explanation to social partners. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Rwanda

### Government, RPF Agree on National Assembly Seats

*AB1001180093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Arusha: The Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] have finally signed the agreement on power sharing within the government and the National Assembly. The agreement was signed on 9 January.

According to the agreement, the Republican Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND, President Habyarimana's Party] will have six [government] posts, including the presidency of the Republic. The RPF will have five; the Republican Democratic Movement [MDR] will have four; the Social Democratic Party [PSD] three; the Liberal Party [PL] three; and the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] one.

Regarding Parliament, the MRND, MDR, PSD, PL, and RPF will have 11 seats each, while the PDC will have four. The 11 remaining parties will have only one each.

The other points, to be discussed in two weeks time, include the integration of the RPF into the national Army and the refugee problem.

The head of the Rwandan delegation, Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira, arrived in Kigali a quarter of an hour ago. Here he is with Ildefonse Faida:

[Begin recording] [Ngulinzira] I have come from Arusha, where I will return on 25 January. I am not here to rest, but rather to present and explain the agreement we have reached. The agreement deals with power sharing. [passage omitted]

[Faida] What will you say if the MRND persists in its refusal to participate in the broad based transitional government and, more importantly, what would happen to the five portfolios allocated to the MRND?

[Ngulinzira] The agreement stipulates that if one or any other parties do not participate or stop participating in the transitional institutions, their posts in the government will be distributed among the remaining political parties or possibly allocated to new political parties through consensus. Regarding the National Assembly, if the remaining seats do not number below the two-thirds [as heard] they are not replaced.

Now, concerning what would happen if the MRND does not participate in the government, I think that this question should be directed to the party concerned, to the president of the Republic, or the prime minister to be. My mission was to negotiate peace, and I think that with the Arusha agreement peace has never been so close.

[Faida] Would the presidency of the Republic, which is being assumed by the MRND president, be put into question, if the MRND refuses to participate in the government?

[Ngulinzira] By law, there would be a problem because the agreement stipulates that the presidency of the Republic is allocated to the MRND. [passage omitted]

[Faida] Is it the president of the Republic who will sign?

[Ngulinzira] I do not see why he should not sign the peace agreement. In any case, as I return from Arusha, my first mission is to report to the president, the prime minister, the government, and all the people.



[Faida] Members of our current government do not agree as to what your mandate is. Can you confirm where your mandate is from?

[Ngulinzira] I have the mandate of the government. [end recording]

#### **MRND 'Refuses' Role in Government**

*EA1001204693 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] The position of the Republican Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND, President Habyarimana's party] on the Arusha accord has not changed one iota: the MRND categorically refuses to participate in the future broad based transitional government. This was stated by the party's national secretary general, Mathieu Ndirumpatse, during a rally today. Such participation would make no sense at all because the MRND would play the role of a mere observer in a coalition bringing together the Republican Democratic Movement [MDR], Liberal Party [PL], Social Democratic Party [PSD], and the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF].

According to the MRND secretary general, this observation was made at today's meeting so that the public could be informed about the party's position on recent developments in negotiations between the Rwandan Government and the RPF, in particular on the agreement that was signed yesterday. The MRND is one of the main actors in Rwandan politics, consequently, the Arusha negotiators should not ignore its proposals, he stressed. The MRND categorically rejects the agreement for reasons which it has repeated endlessly to remind the negotiators.

Through its national secretary general the MRND feels that the agreement cannot be implemented because the minister of foreign affairs and head of the Rwandan Government delegation was not mandated by the government, but rather by the prime minister.

The MRND considers it treason and a usurpation of power, and cites as proof the distribution of ministerial portfolios within the broad based transitional government, which did not follow the guidelines of the previous agreement. It went on to claim that the allocation of the Ministry of Interior to the RPF is a delaying tactic which is intended to forever dissolve the MRND and the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic [CDR] parties and which will also allow the RPF and its friendly parties to postpone elections. Finally, the allocation of the post to the RPF will allow the above parties to allocate themselves full powers over the police, the main custodians of national security.

Regarding the presidential post, the MRND feels that the post cannot be called into question should the party not participate in the government. The reason for this is simple: The current president of the Republic is a democratically elected president and no one can question the people's mandate. [passage omitted]

#### **Zaire**

##### **Prime Minister Holds Talks With IMF Representative**

*EA0801143293 Mbuji-Mayi Voix du Zaire in French 1630 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba has held talks with the local IMF representative, Mr. (Vya Abrahid Zabey). Their discussions centered on the country's financial situation. The prime minister and Mr. (Vya) of the IMF discussed the meeting of the board of directors of the international body, which is planned for 16 February in Washington.

The chances of our country being part of the IMF program will depend on the efforts of the Tshisekedi cabinet to reduce the country's inflation. With regard to the arrears with the IMF, discussions are continuing between the Zairian Government and the IMF.

## Djibouti

### Military Recaptures Water Plant in Tadjoura

EA1001202393 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali 1700 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The Armed Forces of the Republic of Djibouti have chased away the armed rebels who had gained control of Tadjoura's fresh water plant and the surrounding areas after recent attacks. The rebels have controlled the water plant since the conflict began one year ago. All this is shown on video films made by a group from radio and television Djibouti during a visit to the plant. [passage omitted]

A week ago the Djibouti Armed Forces embarked upon attacks to recapture the fresh water plant and surrounding areas. The security officers of the region have announced that they are ready to ensure the security of civilians who have fled from the fighting and have called upon the people to return to their residences.

## Ethiopia

### Eritrean Leader Afewerki's Condition 'Good'

EA0801194493 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Mr. Isayas Afewerki, the secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, has gone abroad for necessary treatment. The secretary general left for Israel, a country which is in close proximity to this area and where there is a well-equipped laboratory for the treatment of malaria. Mr. Isayas was flown to Israel in an American plane on 6 January evening at 2200. His condition is good.

### Constitution for Addis Ababa Published

EA0901102093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Constitution of Addis Ababa, Region 14, issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa, date not given]

[Excerpts] The downfall of the dictatorial regime of the Dergue which ruled Ethiopia for the past 17 years, has given the Ethiopian people the opportunity to establish their government and country in a new democratic way. By getting rid of the Dergue regime, the Ethiopian people managed to achieve human rights, equality, and self-determination. [passage omitted] The Ethiopian Transitional Government has issued a transitional charter which ensures the Ethiopian people's freedom, human rights, and equality. Based on this, the Transitional Government has issued a law to establish a regional administration and regional councils. This law establishes Region 14's administration council democratically with the full participation of political organizations active in the area and with the free will of the people.

Region 14's administration council has issued its Constitution to enable it to implement its duties and responsibilities and to establish its executive, legislative, and judiciary bodies.

Part 1, Chapter 1: General.

Article 1: The name—Region 14—is given to the geographical location of region 14 according to the laws of the Transitional Government.

Article 2: The political authority of the internal affairs of Region 14 is given for the people of the region.

Part 2, Chapter 2: The rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Article 3: Citizens are seen as equal regardless of sex, religion, nation, and nationality differences.

Article 4: The right of citizens to the press, to hold meetings, and to stage peaceful demonstrations is respected. [passage omitted on articles 5-20]

Part 3: The procedures and implementation of transitional regional administration of Region 14.

Chapter 3: The administrative procedures and implementation of Region 14.

Article 21:

1. The region's administration will consist of zone, district, and neighborhood.

2. The region's administration will have executive, legislative, and judiciary bodies.

Chapter 4: The central council of region 14.

Article 22: The region's Central Council is the highest legislative body of the region.

Article 23: The region's council will answer to the electorate and to the central Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government.

Article 24: The region's Council will have the authority to decide on every issue, except matters concerning the regional administration's other bodies. The region's Council will have the following duties and responsibilities:

1. To issue and amend the Constitution of the region and other laws.

2. To approve the long- and short-term regional economic and social plans.

3. To approve the region's budget.

4. To decide the income of the regional administration.

5. To negotiate and approve loans within the country.

6. To decide the region's social services and establish the necessary social and economic institutions.

7. To nominate members of the executive committee, chairman, vice chairman, and secretary of the Council from the members of the council. [passage omitted]

Article 25:

1. Members of the region's Council will be nominated by the people directly or secretly.

2. A new member will be elected to replace members who die or who are sacked.

3. The number of members of the Council and the election process will be decided by law.

Article 26:

1. The region's Council will hold its regular session once every three months, but it will also hold a session when the chairman, executive committee, or one-third of the members asks for a meeting.

2. The Council can hold a meeting if two-thirds of the members are present.

Article 27: The regional Council's term of office will be the same as that of the Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government.

Chapter 5: The Executive Committee of the regional administration of Region 14.

Article 28: The Executive Committee of the regional administration of Region 14 is the administration's highest legislative body.

Article 29: The members of the Executive Committee of the regional administration based on Article 24, Sub-article 6 of this Constitution will be nominated secretly among the members of the regional Council.

Article 30: The members of the Executive Committee will lead the administration's offices jointly, by committee or individually.

Article 31: The Executive Committee will have the following duties and responsibilities:

1. To follow the proper implementation of the policies, decrees, laws, directives, and plans issued by the Transitional Government and Council of the region.

2. To arrange and present the region's budget to the Council and, when approved, to implement it.

3. To lead and coordinate the social economic programs of the region. [passage omitted on Nos. 4-16 amplifying duties of executive committee]

Article 32: The executive committee will be answerable to the Council of Ministers concerning the implementation of the policies and rules of the Transitional Government.

Chapter 6: The chairman of the Council of the region.

Article 33: The chairman of the Council based on Article 24, Sub-article 6 of this Constitution will be secretly nominated by members of the region's Council.

Article 34: The Council chairman will be answerable to the region's Council and the Council of Representatives of the Transitional Government.

Article 35:

1. The vice-chairman of the region's Council will work as the Council chairman when the chairman is not able to perform his work.

2. The vice-chairman will carry out orders from the chairman and the executive committee of the Council.

Article 36: The Council secretary will head the Council's office and implement orders from the chairman and Executive Committee of the Council.

Chapter 7: Authority of judges

Article 37: The authority of judges will be limited to the region's court and other lower courts.

Article 38: Judges will implement their work in complete freedom. They will not be led by any authority except the law.

Article 39: The nomination and administration of judges will be decided by law. [passage indistinct].

Part 4, Chapter 8: Various regulations.

Article 44: The regional administration of Region 14 will have its own flag. The emblem will be decided by law.

Article 46 [as heard]: The capital city of the regional administration of Region 14 is Addis Ababa.

Article 47: The regional administration of Region 14's working language is Amharic.

Article 48: This Constitution is the supreme law of the regional administration. Laws and decisions which contradict this Constitution will not be valid.

Article 49: The Constitution may only be amended if approved by two-thirds of the Council's members.

Article 50: This Constitution cannot have a different translation than that of the charter of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia.

Article 51: This Constitution is effective from the date of issue in the Negarit Gazette [official gazette]

[Signed] Council of Region 14, Addis Ababa.

## Kenya

### Somali Soldiers Said Planning 'To Enter' Kismaayo

EA1101102093 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 Jan 93 p 2

[By DAILY NATION correspondent: "Morgan in Garissa, Say Elders"]

[Excerpts] Gen Muhammad [Said Hirs] Morgan, the commander of a wing [of] ousted Somali President Siad Barre's forces, has been in Garissa since December, three residents of the area claimed yesterday [10 January]. However, the Northeastern deputy provincial commissioner, Mr David Mativo, said he was not aware of Gen Morgan's presence in the area and promised to investigate the claims.

Three elders from Hulugho and Ijara led by Mr Mahat Yusuf Adan told reporters in Garissa town yesterday that Gen Morgan, who is also Mr Barre's brother-in-law [as published], and his bodyguard were in a guest house in Garissa under assumed names. [passage omitted]

Mr Adan said that Gen Morgan has been in and out of Garissa since 14th December and checked out of the guest house on Saturday [9 January] morning, claiming that they were leaving Garissa for Malindi. Mr Adan said he had seen Gen Morgan the previous weekend at the home of a friend which is situated next to the guest house.

The elders said they were worried by Gen Morgan's presence in Kenya as his men were in Boni Forest in Garissa south, which put the lives of people living near the forest in danger.

They said that Gen Morgan had been to Ethiopia, Mandera, Wajir and Garissa to visit his men. The elders claimed that the Somali general's main command post was in Boni Forest, which lies between Hulugho, Ijara, Mukowe, Kiunga [in Kenya] and Kolobio in Somalia.

They alleged that the Somali soldiers were planning to enter Baydhabo and Kismaayo "any time from now". The soldiers, the elders said, will attack Kamboni in

southern Somalia, and go to Kuda then Kolobio, before entering Kismaayo. They said the American soldiers in Somalia did not worry Gen Morgan's men.

Mr Adan expressed concern that the people of Garissa south may be in danger if Gen Ahmed Omar Jays of the Somalia Patriotic Movement in the south, who was aware his enemies were being "housed" by Kenyans, decided to retaliate by launching a counter-attack.

### **National Congress Fires Executive Committee**

*EA0801215993 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] The entire Kenya National Congress [KNC] executive committee has been sacked. Announcing the sacking today at a press conference, the new party chairman, Onesmus Mbali, claimed the officials had plunged the party into tribalism, accusing them of being disloyal to the party. [passage omitted]

### **Secretary General Denies Dismissals**

*EA1001190993 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] Political wrangling within the Kenya National Congress (KNC) leadership took another twist today when the party's Secretary General Kimani Wanyoike told the party founder, Onesmas Mbali, that he did not know what he was talking about.

Wanyoike said in a statement that he and all the national executive officials of the party were in office, contrary to what Mbali told the press yesterday. The secretary general who contested but lost the Kinangop parliamentary seat on a KNC ticket said his committee meets this Wednesday [13 January] where the issue will be discussed further. Mbali told the press yesterday that he had dismissed the entire committee because the team had plunged the party in what he termed chaos and tribalism.

## **Somalia**

### **Military Assault on Mogadishu Leaves 11 Somalis Dead**

*AB0801125093 Paris AFP in English 1228 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Mogadishu, Jan 8 (AFP)—Some 10 or 11 Somali fighters were killed in the U.S. Marines' spectacular assault this week on a Mogadishu stronghold of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, according to a Somali source Friday [8 January] who said he spoke to one of the group targeted. The group attacked at the former Somali military stores warehouses in northwest Mogadishu numbered about 37, the source who said he spoke to one of its members stated.

The Americans also took some prisoners for "investigation", he said, and there was reliable independent confirmation that at least one prisoner was taken away with

his hands bound. But "many" of the group was able to escape the city northwards during the night before the attack, and they took with them about six "technicals" and an anti-aircraft gun, the source said.

In their official account of the operation, U.S. military spokesmen said they recovered four tanks, some armoured cars, 15 artillery pieces and an anti-aircraft gun.

The group hit belonged to the Habegedir clan of the Haawiye federation which controls Mogadishu, Somali sources said. The Habegedir are one of the main components of the United Somali Congress, which has been ripped asunder by faction fighting with the Abgal clan of Ali Mahdi Mohamed. The group included members of Aidid's own subclan the Saad and elements of the Surur and Duduble subclans, as well as some Dir federation, Somali sources said.

An officer with the French military contingent in Somalia viewed the assault as aimed at putting a halt to the idea that the Americans were supporting Aidid, particularly when the latter appeared reluctant to agree on a peace talks venue.

Aidid has now agreed, at U.N.-sponsored talks among all Somali factions in Addis Ababa held this week, to attend a national reconciliation conference in the Ethiopian capital in April.

The French officer said the Americans wanted also to show that they are the masters of the city and that they are not going to let any Aidid fighters control that part of the city.

Meanwhile there did not appear to be much sympathy for the group. "Everybody realises that the kids fired first and that created some problems," a hotel keeper said.

The Americans said they had come under sniper fire from the target they wiped out.

Thursday evening Aidid's radio called for his supporters to consign their arms to barracks and show restraint.

### **Marines 'Hit' 3 Somalis 9 Jan**

*AB1001102093 Paris AFP in English 0946 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Mogadishu, Jan 10 (AFP) - Three Somalis were "hit" in three separate incidents, two of which involved shootings between armed gunmen and the U.S. marines, overnight Saturday, U.N. sources announced Sunday [10 January]. United Nations Operations for Somalia (UNOSOM) spokesman Farouk Mawlawi was unable to say whether the three had been wounded or killed.

A U.S. military source earlier announced that Somali gunmen and U.S. Marines opened fire on each other near hotels at K4 Point in Mogadishu late Saturday, but no one was wounded. "Somalis were fighting each other. Marines opened fire on them to stop them" shortly before 7:30 p.m. (1630 GMT) Saturday, Chief Warrant



Officer Erik Carlson said, adding that there were "no casualties." Carlson said "somebody fired on the American embassy about one o'clock" Sunday (2200 GMT Saturday), sparking a response by the Marines. He said there were "no casualties" but a UNOSOM source said one person was hit in the shooting.

Somali sources said members of the Permuda group from the northern and southern part of the Somali capital had fired on the Marines who returned the fire.

Early Sunday the Mursade and Habr-Gedir clans were involved in heavy firefights across the green line dividing the Somali capital, Somali sources said. It was not immediately known if anybody was hurt in the latest outbreak of violence. Shots could also be heard at about 10:00 a.m. (0700 GMT) in northern Mogadishu.

### **Troops Begin 'To Disarm' Area**

*AB1101085693 Paris AFP in English 0755 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Jan 11 (AFP)—U.S. Marines on Monday [11 January] launched an operation to disarm a section of Mogadishu a day after gun battles between rival clans erupted in the area, correspondents reported. They said U.S. troops erected barricades at key crossroads in the Sinay district, which has been divided by a Green Line separating hostile factions.

A resident who witnessed the operation added that U.S. forces in helicopters flew over the two-square kilometer district (0.8 square miles) and used loudspeakers to urge inhabitants to remain in place and to surrender their weapons.

Barricades were also put up outside the October 21 Stadium, built by ousted president Mohamed Siad Barre to commemorate his accession to power in 1969 and now used as a Red Cross feeding station.

Marines searched vehicles for weapons, protected by hovering helicopters, witnesses said.

The Mursade and Habr-Gedir clans battled early Sunday [10 January] in Sinay but it was not possible to determine if there had been casualties in the fighting.

Shots were also fired at vehicles in the northern part of the Somali capital.

Horst Hambourg, a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross, said the Mursade clan "was unhappy at not having taken part in the Addis-Ababa conference." [passage omitted]

### **Public Said Happy With U.S. Security Operations**

*EA0801192993 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] U.S.-led multinational troops in Somalia have expanded their operations in Mogadishu. The new operations are aimed at maintaining security, collecting both

heavy and light weapons, dismantling (?barriers), as well as destroying bandit hide-outs. In their efforts to restore security in Mogadishu, the troops are using battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, ground troops, and helicopter gunships called Cobras to provide air cover.

The report adds that the American-led troops have carried out operations in the districts of (Heliwa), Kaaran, Shibis, Abdilasis, and Yaagshid, where they collected heavy and light weapons and destroyed bandit hide-outs.

Our reporters, who have witnessed the operations, said that the public expressed happiness at the operations aimed at restoring peace. These operations were launched in the wake of a number of complaints from relief agencies and the public after an increase in banditry, which had resulted in robberies and killings of foreigners and Somalis.

### **Aidid Official Discusses Reconciliation Conference**

*AB0901115993 Paris AFP in English 1152 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[By Michael Anders]

[Text] Mogadishu, Jan 9 (AFP)—The first conference of all Somali movements and factions, held this week in Addis Ababa, is a step toward forming an interim national government, a top official of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid said Saturday [9 January].

But other Somalis were more cautious in their reaction to the agreement for peace, reached Friday, which calls for a national reconciliation conference on March 15.

Isse Mohamed, foreign affairs spokesman for the Aidid faction of the United Somali Congress, told AFP: "We are fed up with war. We have had more than enough." He said the Addis Ababa agreements were a step toward the eventual formation of an interim or provisional national government of all Somali movements, to precede the holding of elections.

Speaking at the well-appointed USC offices in the half-shattered, divided Somali capital, he said the Addis Ababa meeting had been a good occasion for all Somali movements to get together for the first time. "This was a chance to discuss, talk, quarrel and finally to come to an agreement," he said. He said the agreements reached had led to a ceasefire as of Friday. He also mentioned the setting up of committees to intervene in any armed conflict and the creation of demilitarized zones.

Already for the last week officials of the Aidid USC faction were meeting daily with those of bitter rival Ali Mahdi Mohamed, he said. "The true ceasefire can start when we create these demilitarized zones," he added, recognizing the difficulty in controlling Somalia's innumerable armed men.

Ferocious war between the two sides for more than a year, and resulting famine, led to the ongoing U.S.-headed foreign military intervention which began in Somalia exactly a month ago.

But a former Aidid fighter said his men were not happy with the agreement, believing it called for fighters to return to their original, often central parts of the country. Having seized the south and east, they would never agree to that, the man who gave his name as Abdi said.

Somali and African human rights activist Rakiya Omar said the Addis talks were only a beginning and stressed the hard negotiations and difficulties to come. She also

said it was naive to believe that all the violence was between organised factions and that banditry could be halted by formal agreements. Rakiya, an opponent of the U.S.-led intervention, in addition stressed that any disarmament of fighters had to be done at a national level.

Isse Mohamed accused opposing factions of wanting simply to "change the faces" but "maintain the same system of government" as under President Mohamed Siad Barre, ousted from power nearly two years ago by armed force and uprising. It was not immediately possible for security reasons to cross the so-called Green Line to obtain reaction to the Addis Ababa meeting from the Ali Mahdi faction in devastated north Mogadishu.

**Mandela: ANC May Not Insist on Elections in 1993**

*MB0801164293 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela says his organization accepts that, due to circumstances, it might not be possible to hold elections in South Africa this year.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg to mark the 81st anniversary of the ANC, Mr. Mandela said the organization would not insist that elections for an interim government take place this year. Due to circumstances, it might not be possible to hold such elections until early next year.

Mr. Mandela confirmed that the ANC had appointed an independent commission to investigate claims of torture and maltreatment in the organization's detention camps abroad, as well as the disappearance of detainees.

**Government Control of Army, Police, SABC Opposed**

*MB0901051093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2102 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] East London Jan 8 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC]/South African Communist Party [SACP]/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance will at a meeting at the end of the month demand the government relinquishes control of the Defence Force, the police, the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] and the national budget, SABC radio news reported.

This was disclosed on Friday [8 January] by SACP General Secretary Chris Hani at a rally at Soto near East London to mark the 81st anniversary of the ANC.

He said these structures should be placed under the direct control of an elected executive body, answerable to all the people of the country as they were important in the transition period which preceded the general election agreed to by the government and the ANC.

**Government Rejects Holomisa Bid for Goldstone Inquiry**

*MB0801173093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1654 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Cape Town Jan 8 SAPA—The South African Government has turned down Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's request that Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone be seconded to conduct an independent inquiry into APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army].

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement in Cape Town that the SA Embassy in Umtata had informed the Transkeian Military Council of its decision on Friday [8 January].

"Since Mr. Justice Goldstone has an ultimate interest and responsibility in regard to his South African assignment, he cannot possibly divorce himself from his own commission to take on another assignment elsewhere, especially as he and the commission are already involved in the matter."

A Goldstone commission committee, headed by Mr. Gert Steyn, is presently conducting a preliminary hearing into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) which is believed to have bases in the Transkei.

Mr. Coetsee said, however, that his government had proposed to the Transkei authorities that a Transkeian judge or any available South African judge should be seconded for the Transkei independent inquiry.

"This commission could then also publish its findings and make its report available to the Goldstone commission for its consideration...the Goldstone commission's report may be made available to the Transkeian authorities."

Meanwhile, Mr. Justice Goldstone said in a statement in Pretoria that he agreed with the government's decision.

He pointed out that he "at no time" had agreed to head Gen Holomisa's commission. "I had a possible material and unacceptable conflict of interests as chairman of a South African commission which has a committee already inquiring into the very same issue."

Mr. Goldstone said he had assumed Gen Holomisa's approach was made to him in his capacity as chairman of the commission.

"On that assumption I informed Maj-Gen Holomisa that, in principle, I would be happy to support his proposals.

"(But) as I pointed out (earlier) the constitutional relationship between South Africa and Transkei is such that an approach would be required to be made through appropriate governmental channels."

The Goldstone committee, which will continue its hearing in Port Elizabeth on Monday, was established after APLA, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), claimed responsibility for last year's two attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown which left five people dead and 34 injured.

APLA has also been blamed for attacks on farms in the eastern Cape and the Orange Free State.

"I was consulted by the South African Government with regard to the request to it from the Transkei government for my secondment. I fully agree with the terms of the response given to the Transkei government by the South African Government," Mr. Goldstone said.

Gen Holomisa has refused to participate in the Goldstone hearing into APLA because the commission is a structure of the National Peace Accord to which Transkei is not a signatory.

Gen Holomisa was not immediately available for comment on Friday night.

### **Goldstone Issues Statement**

*MB0901092893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2228 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: The Honourable Mr Justice Richard Goldstone]

[Text] Press release by The Honourable Mr Justice R J Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation

1. On 26 December 1992 I was approached telephonically by Major General Bantu Holomisa. He inquired whether I will be prepared to extend the APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] inquiry by hearing evidence in the Transkei. He also requested me to be involved personally in any Transkei sittings and that I invite an independent Transkei citizen to participate with regard thereto. I assumed that the approach was made to me in my capacity as chairman of the commission. On that assumption I informed Major General Holomisa that in principle I would be happy to support his proposals. As I pointed out in my press statement dated 2 January 1993, the constitutional relationship between South Africa and Transkei is such that an approach would be required to be made through appropriate governmental channels.

2. At no time did I agree to head a separate commission of inquiry in Transkei. For a number of reasons I would not have agreed to do so. One of them is that I could have found myself in a situation where I had a possible material and unacceptable conflict of interests as chairman of a South African commission which has a committee already inquiring into the very same issue.

3. I was consulted by the South African Government with regard to the request to it from the Transkei government for my secondment I fully agree with the terms of the response given to the Transkei government by the South African Government. Pretoria 8 January 1993

### **Holomisa on Goldstone Rejection**

*MB0801204593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1959 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[By David Isaacson]

[Excerpt] Umtata Jan 8 SAPA—Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone's delayed response to the Transkei's request that he be seconded to head an inquiry into APLA

[Azanian People's Liberation Army] "indicates his arm has been twisted by his master", according to the homeland's military leader.

Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa told SAPA on Friday [8 January] it was surprising that Mr. Goldstone, who had welcomed his proposed commission of inquiry last week, took so long to respond.

"It is surprising that it took him so many days before he could refuse this offer. The timing of his refusal indicates his arm has been twisted by his master."

SA Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday announced that Mr. Goldstone would not be seconded to the homeland because he was unavailable.

"Mr. Justice Goldstone...cannot possibly divorce himself from his own commission to take on another assignment elsewhere, especially as he and the commission are already involved in the matter."

Mr. Goldstone said in reply that he agreed with the government's decision.

A Goldstone committee, chaired by Mr. Gert Steyn, began a preliminary hearing into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Gen Holomisa also criticised Mr. Coetsee's suggestion that the Transkei commission's report be made available to the Goldstone commission for consideration, saying his commission's findings would be final. He reiterated that he would not participate in Mr. Goldstone's investigation.

However, he welcomed the minister's proposal that another South African judge be seconded. Gen Holomisa said a proposed name could be on Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's desk by Monday afternoon.

Referring to his own commission, the general said SA Government and Defence Force officials would be subpoenaed to give evidence because they had made allegations about APLA's presence in the Transkei in the first place.

He said SA Military Intelligence Chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen would be subpoenaed to testify on the alleged destabilisation of the homeland.

Gen Holomisa pointed out that a precedent had been set with other Transkei subpoenas for South Africans being adhered to. [passage omitted]

### **PAC, APLA Fail To Attend Goldstone Committee Meeting**

*MB1101100393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0937 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Port Elizabeth Jan 11 SAPA—Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and Azanian People's Liberation



[APLA] army representatives failed to attend a Goldstone committee meeting in Port Elizabeth on Monday [11 January] morning.

Counsel for the South African Defence Force [SADF] Danie Pretorius said in reaction that these witnesses should be subpoenaed. But if no more came forward to give evidence, the committee should make a finding based on the information before it, he said.

Advocate Francois van Zyl, appearing on behalf of the SA Police [SAP], also said the committee should consider a subpoena to witnesses to testify before the committee. He had a list of PAC and APLA members which he could make available in this regard, he said.

The committee hearing had been postponed until today (Monday) to enable the PAC and the Transkei government, at their request, to consider submissions by the SAP and the SADF.

Mr Steyn said the committee would be sitting next in Pretoria on January 18.

The committee, a limb of the Goldstone Commission into Intimidation and Violence, is investigating the actions of APLA—the armed wing of the PAC—in the wake of two attacks in the eastern cape which left five dead, and for which APLA has been blamed.

#### ANC Anniversary Statement

MB080111193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0904  
GMT 8 Jan 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress]

[Text] Statement of the National Executive Committee [NEC] on the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the African National Congress [ANC] 8 January, 1993

Fellow South Africans, comrades and compatriots, today, January 8th, marks the 81st anniversary of the African National Congress. We observe this important date at a moment when our country stands at its gateway to the future.

1993 is destined to be the year when we bring to an end the exclusive exercise of political power by the white minority. At last we shall together set ourselves on the path to democratic rule. This historic moment in the transition to people's power will express itself through a general election which must be held before the end of 1993.

The elections will be the first in our country when all the people, black and white, the privileged and the deprived, will vote together as equals in an undivided South Africa. As we move into this phase let us ensure that this vote leads to the systematic empowerment of all and especially South African women.

Through the exercise of this inalienable right of all our people to determine their future, will be born a sovereign constituent assembly which will also function as a democratic and non-racial interim parliament and an interim government of national unity, representative of and accountable to the people as a whole. Through this democratic vote the people shall determine the shape of our country for decades to come.

It is within our power, as a country and a nation, to secure this year a decisive victory which will place us on the road to resolving the centuries-old struggle between brutal oppression and exploitation on one hand, and the quest for genuine emancipation of all our people, on the other.

This history of conflict created a deeply divided country. As we strive to create the new, we will have to start from the heritage of a society torn apart and driven by hatred and division; a society which imprisoned both the oppressed and the oppressor.

The future cannot be built by ignoring or denying the past. Nor can there be reconciliation without acknowledgement by the architects of apartheid and by all other south africans of the wrongs they have committed.

Those who usurped power in our country did everything possible to divide our society so that they could continue to rule.

They used their deadly instruments which included racism, tribalism, ethnicity, sexism, corruption in all its forms and a particular and sectarian theological outlook—all of which sought to rob our people of the bond which derives from the understanding that all human beings are equal.

Today all of us, both culprit and victim, are reaping the whirlwind of the destructive seeds apartheid sowed.

Those South Africans who have had the wisdom to stop and think have always known that the day of reckoning would come. They recognised that in the end many of our people would coalesce into distinct, belligerent camps.

We, for our part, as an organisation have known that there could be no peace among the people until all of us acknowledge that we are one people who share a common patriotism and a common destiny.

It is for these reasons that at its inception in 1912 the ANC spoke out against "the demon of tribalism". It is for these reasons that, in actual struggle, we constantly sought to forge the unity of the oppressed and exploited.

To secure genuine emancipation we struggled to ensure that the organisations of the oppressed, including the ANC, should be representative of all the people of our country, including those in the white community.

Today we are proud to see the concept and practice of non-racialism increasingly accepted as the perspective of

most political formations of our country. We are inspired by the widespread acceptance of the mutually dependent principles of democracy, equality, justice, peace and reconciliation.

When the people of our country stated in the freedom charter in 1955 that: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white..." They summed up our common yearning for democracy, non-racialism and national unity.

In the freedom charter our people put together a vision of the future based on prosperity for all. The charter expresses a goal which the ANC and all other democrats in our country have been striving for in opposition to the policies of successive apartheid regimes.

All sectors of our society yearn for the urgent realisation of a system in which they can realise their full potential.

It is crucial that workers and the rural masses, and particularly the unemployed youth, continue to strive for better conditions, jobs and land in the context of a growing economy. Families have all reason to unite in the search for affordable prices on shop shelves.

Students, teachers and parents deserve a better deal in education, a system based on non-racial and democratic principles—not on the wealth they command. A better health system which caters for all is not a privilege, but a right which must be guaranteed. It is abominable that senior citizens should continue to be subjected to racial discrimination and inhuman treatment.

Professionals merit an environment in which they can exercise their creativity without the confining ideology of racism. Business-people deserve secure investments in conditions of social harmony.

All communities have a right to housing and living conditions free of crime and social disintegration.

All South Africans, be they African, coloured, Indian or white—men and women, young and old—deserve a better deal. They deserve lasting security and a stable environment. And the problems of the past and the present cannot be resolved by means of modified apartheid, no matter how sweet-sounding the phrases of representatives of this heinous system.

The time has come to translate this vision into reality as a united people, through genuine democracy, justice and good government.

As we strive to achieve these objectives, we must also break down and abolish the divisions and antagonisms which were used to deny all our people democracy, peace and prosperity. This year must therefore be the year which opens up ever-widening scope for democratic participation and empowerment.

We are in the midst of the process of building a nation. To achieve this we must ensure that the diversity of cultures, languages and religions of our people flourish.

Overcoming the divisive heritage of the past will require a conscious effort to promote institutions and practices which will—formally and informally—create the conditions in which we all learn to treat our languages, cultures and religions with equal respect and dignity based on a common patriotism.

In this nation-building effort the ANC also recognizes that we shall have to make provision which will restore to a place of dignity and respect the institution of chieftainship. Our traditional leaders were reduced to the status of paid servants of the apartheid state and cut off from the service of the people. But this can only be achieved if they break with the apartheid past. In this way, they will be able to play a constructive role in enhancing the unity of our people and help restore themselves to the respect they deserve.

National unity, non-racialism and a common patriotism are the cement which will bind a nation at peace with itself and in harmony with the natural world we inhabit.

Events since early 1990 have made the country swing between moments of high expectations and of despair. There have been those who have sought to postpone and delay the process of transition.

Today all South Africans realise that we need to move forward decisively and with the utmost speed. Each day that passes is a day of deprivation, of hunger, of rising unemployment, of violence, increasing crime and insecurity for all.

The transition to democracy is the key to resolving the deep-seated social and economic crisis. We are under no illusion that this transition to democracy will be plain sailing. We are faced with a regime which seeks to preserve its privileges and assure its power. It has often failed to adhere to agreements it has reached with the anc.

It is a regime which still refuses to acknowledge the crime of apartheid. Even when the De Klerk regime has been forced to acknowledge that senior SADF [South African Defense Force] officers are involved in the violence and in efforts to destabilise the negotiation process and the ANC, it continues to deny that there is a third force. It persists in shrouding in secrecy the corruption and the role of its security forces.

The only way to secure the future is for the De Klerk regime to come clean and out into the open. Along this path, we shall ensure that the defence of the country is placed correctly into the hands of the people. It is the people who have fashioned the gains we have registered. It is the people who are the defenders of the progress we have made. It is the people who are the force who will carry our country into the future.

Our optimism for 1993 rests on the fact that mass action, public exposures, international pressure and the consistent espousal of democratic rule are the basis for the advances that we have been making. Through these

instruments we must ensure that the regime abandons its bankrupt strategy of negotiating with whilst simultaneously seeking to undermine the ANC.

The key steps that have to be taken during this year are: Resumption of multilateral talks in Codesa.

Ensuring a climate of free political activity in all parts of our country.

Establishment of the transitional executive council and its sub-structures as well as an independent elections commission and independent media commission so as to ensure free and fair elections.

Elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity before the end of 1993.

Reincorporation of the so-called independent ban-tustans.

The challenge facing the ANC is two-fold.

On the one hand, we have to pursue the struggle strenuously on all fronts to ensure that negotiations are successfully concluded to bring about democratic rule. On the other hand, we need to face the challenge of forthcoming constituent assembly elections and prepare ourselves to govern.

The policy conference of the ANC, through a thorough-going process of discussions and debate both inside the ANC and in the broader public arena provided us with the framework of policies for a truly democratic, humane and just society. We need to carry this to all our formations which must ensure that it becomes the property of the people as a whole. This must involve reinvigorating and expanding the organisation of the ANC at regional and local levels and its links with the people.

The momentum for change is gathering force. We must make it unstoppable.

There are those political formations which fear change and are totally opposed to democratic elections. They are products of apartheid thinking. They fear the will of the people. They cling to ethnic fiefdoms and racism. But, they are part of a dying order. Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party political and personal agendas they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly.

The ANC maintains that the negotiations process should be as inclusive as possible. Our call to all formations to join Codesa is open-ended. But, we insist that no one should be allowed to hold the transition to democracy to ransom.

The elections cannot be delayed beyond 1993.

To arrive at this point we have to address two related questions effectively. These are curbing the violence that continues to blight our country and the creation of a climate conducive to free political activity.

The ANC stands for peace. To end the violence, during the course of 1992, the ANC has:

Called for an urgent meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord to strengthen the accord and publicly renew their joint commitment to peace;  
secured international involvement, through the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth, which has resulted in the stationing of monitors in South Africa;  
actively engaged in local and national peace initiatives as part of a determined effort to bring people together at grassroots level.

Yet the carnage continues. The terrorism, destabilisation and repression that emanates from within the security forces, and state agencies, including the various administrations in different parts of South Africa, must be rooted out without any equivocation and delay.

Free political activity and a culture of political tolerance must be created. The violent conflict between members of different political organisations must be brought to an end.

The National Peace Accord must be fully implemented and strengthened. Codesa agreed that all armed formations and police forces be placed under the control of a statutory transitional executive council. This must be effected as soon as this council is established. This will lay the basis for the creation of a truly representative South African Army in which Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation [MK]; ANC military wing] shall have a crucial role to play.

No more lives must be lost! Let us develop the most powerful public campaign for peace that our country has ever seen! Such a campaign should unite all our people in action, regardless of race, gender, class, political affiliation, age, religion or geographic location. This would be the best way to pay tribute to thousands who lost their lives in the carnage ravaging our country.

We count on the international community to increase its presence and to play an even more vigorous role in its intervention for peace. The stationing of international monitors has been an important achievement of our movement. It has reinforced the efforts of our people against those who have no regard for human life. It has strengthened the forces for democracy and peace in our country.

In this regard, we would like to pay tribute to the OAU for responding to the appeal of the ANC and ensuring that the intervention of the United Nations and other international bodies became possible.

Our country cries out for the creation of space to enable people to associate without let or hindrance; to propagate and discuss views without fear or favour; to fashion a vision of our country through the process of free and energetic debate.

Those who are committed to democracy and peace cannot allow a situation to persist whereby anybody,

whoever they might be, denies the people their right to a climate conducive to free political activity.

In all parts of the country, including the so-called homelands, whether "independent" or not, all organisations and individuals must enjoy the same rights and the same opportunities to organise, to assemble and to propagate their views.

As soon as it is elected, the constituent assembly will commence its work of drafting and adopting the new constitution for which millions of our people are waiting. We are committed to ensuring that this constitution, the supreme law of the land, enshrines and expresses the perspective contained in the codesa declaration of intent of multi-party democracy in a united, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

A critical element of this constitution must be an entrenched and enforceable bill of rights which would protect fundamental human rights and limit the power of any parliament to take away these rights. This will also require that the judiciary be reconstituted to ensure that it is independent, non-racial and non-sexist and therefore capable of enjoying the support and trust of all South Africans.

Provision will have to be made to ensure that the entire system of the administration of justice is not subject to political manipulation. In this way it will become possible to guarantee the application of the two fundamental principles of the rule of, and equality before, the law.

Our perspectives are governed by the ideal expressed in the freedom charter: the people shall govern! We are therefore determined to ensure that government is as close to the people as possible.

Our constitutional proposals, therefore, include the essential element that, in addition to effective central government, manifesting the reality of one South African nation, there should also be strong, meaningful and representative regional and local government capable of expressing the will of the people in the conduct of their daily lives.

Attachment to labels, such as "federalism", will not take the discussion anywhere—least of all if the insertion of such concepts is aimed at emasculating central government, seeking to maintain the status quo of a South Africa fragmented into racial and ethnic compartments and promoting the partisan interests of particular political organisations.

The constructing of a constitutional framework for a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society should unite all genuine democratic forces in our country, regardless of other differences that they otherwise might have.

Therefore we believe that it will be one of our central tasks during this year to enhance the degree of unity and raise the level of united action of these forces in the pursuit of common goals.

Central to this exercise is the urgent need to build the organisation of the ANC at every level. We dare not rest on our record of struggle which has brought our country to this crucial moment. We must take our policies to the grassroots, organise our people and show the way forward in all areas of life. This is the only way to ensure that they re-affirm, through the vote, that the ANC represents their true aspirations.

Every effort has to be made to strengthen the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance so that we carry the country to effective democracy. In the campaign for peace and democracy during 1992, our alliance reached new heights and demonstrated its immense capacity to mobilise and organise the people. Alliance structures at the local and grassroots levels were created. These functioned with single-minded purpose and provided the critical element which helped remove blockages in negotiations and ensured forward movement.

The Patriotic Front, made up of both political formations and organisations of civil society, and representative of the overwhelming majority of the citizens of our country, is a vital instrument for the achievement of these objectives.

What are the tasks of the Patriotic Front during this historic year? Put simply and directly, they are:

- to ensure the successful conclusion of the negotiations taking place in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa];

- to develop common positions with regard to the fundamental constitutional positions that will be put to the electorate at large and to the constituent assembly. These would include provisions relating to workers', women's and children's rights as well as the role of civil society and the place of traditional institutions of government;
- to develop common positions relating to the principal elements of the policies that should be implemented when the interim government of national unity is established;

- to engage the general public in discussion of these constitutional and governmental policy positions, so as to develop a national consensus around the key pillars of the process of transformation;

- to mobilise the nation as a whole to join in the struggle to curb and end the violence;

- to mobilise the nation as a whole to act together to ensure the existence of a climate conducive to free political activity in all parts of our country;

- to elaborate and implement a programme of work directed at voter education and ensuring that the people exercise their hard-won democratic right to vote; and
- to win these voters over to support the policies put forward by the ANC and its allies.

Together, at national, regional and local levels, let us speak with one voice, explaining honestly what we want for our country and what we want its future to be. At the



same time, let us act as a united force for peace, tolerance and a new life of freedom and prosperity for all South Africans.

These objectives must instruct the conduct of all our members and formations, prohibiting any activity on our part which leads to violence, political intolerance and provides excuses for those who wish to delay the process of democratic transformation.

We appeal to all those of our compatriots who fear the prospect of democratic change. What they should fear are the consequences of the absence of change. Any continuation of the past would mean that our country sinks further, with all its people, into the depths of a general crisis which would benefit no one and from which it would be impossible to extricate itself in the foreseeable future. Such a disaster we must avoid at all costs.

Those who entertain the delusion that the process of change can be stopped or postponed through violence and subversion should abandon this hopeless project. Similarly, no one who claims to uphold the true interests of the freedom of our people, should act in a way that enhances the role of those who want to plunge our country into race conflict and civil war.

None, including those within the security forces and the white right, should take it upon themselves to create a situation in which more lives will be lost and more blood shed, as a result of a vain effort to defend the ultimately indefensible.

It is clear that, during this year, we shall also see the establishment of the multi-party transitional executive council, with its substructures to be followed by an elected interim government of national unity. It is therefore important that we give attention to the development of governmental programmes to be implemented during these phases.

These changes will, among other things, bring more people into public administration, to create more representative and therefore legitimate structures of government.

The movement away from almost 45 years of exclusive rule and domination by the National Party, will create the possibility for our country to begin to address the fundamental question of improving the quality of life of all citizens. The desperate and worsening situation faced by millions of our people, of unemployment, landlessness, homelessness, hunger, the diseases of poverty, of a disastrous educational system, and so on, cannot be allowed to continue.

We cannot hold out the false promise that a solution to these problems can be found overnight. Yet a beginning has to be made, and made soon.

This will entail many things, among them measures aimed at ensuring sustained economic growth, a more equitable distribution of wealth, and of income and

opportunity especially with regard to the women of our country, the rationalisation and restructuring of state expenditure, the elimination of corruption in the public sector and an appeal to the international community to come to our aid.

Any political arrangements enabling democratic rule will be nullified if we do not ensure a stable and growing economy. Both the workers of our country and business have a crucial and decisive role to play in this regard.

It is crucial that the people should not only get the vote, but also begin to see a new future dawn with regard to jobs, land, food, housing, health and education. Without this, the people cannot even begin to regain their dignity as human beings. Without this, we cannot say we have begun to dismantle the criminal and destructive system of apartheid.

As we progress towards the democratic settlement, more windows to the world will open for our country and people. We should value and nurture this development. The critical element with regard to ending South Africa's isolation will not be statements made by this or the other politician, but the actual movement forward towards the democratisation of our country.

The world looks to us, who know the true meaning of racism and racial oppression, to create a political and social order which will make a critical contribution to the worldwide struggle against racism.

All humanity is ready and willing to assist us achieve this result which has universal implications. This is an opportunity we dare not allow anyone to frustrate simply because they refuse to break with the past.

We appeal to the international community and the solidarity movement with its proud history of anti-apartheid activity to help us ensure that the ideal of democracy is realised in South Africa. At this decisive moment their support is more crucial than ever before.

As part of the process of our entry into the world we shall have to do everything in our power to help ensure that southern Africa is a region of democracy, peace, stability, mutually advantageous co-operation and prosperity.

We support the peace processes in Angola and Mozambique aimed at attaining democracy, national reconciliation, peace and reconstruction. In both cases, we have the duty to reciprocate the support the governments and the peoples of these countries extend and have extended to our own programme of transformation. We condemn the continued destabilisation interventions of the apartheid regime in Angola.

We look forward to the termination of the fratricidal wars and conflicts on the African continent, especially in Somalia, Liberia and Sudan. They have imposed enormous suffering on the peoples of these countries and unnecessary burdens on the neighbouring states.

We appeal to the belligerents in these countries to stop the bloodletting, co-operate with their neighbours and the United Nations, to arrive at a speedy settlement of these conflicts.

We are encouraged by the initial steps that have been taken to find a peaceful solution to the problems facing the Palestinian and other peoples in the Middle East. The recent actions of the Government of Israel are a major setback to the search for a peaceful solution and have been rightly condemned by all who seek peace.

We support the initiative of the secretary-general of the United Nations to implement the programme of action agreed by the OAU and the UN to resolve the problem of Western Sahara.

The shameful conflict in the former Yugoslavia must be brought to an end. In particular, the so-called ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the atrocities that go with it, should no longer be tolerated.

As we change the manner in which South Africa is governed during this year, our possibilities will increase not only to change our own situation, but also to make our contribution to the building of a new world order of democracy, equality, peace and prosperity.

Let us claim our right to make this contribution on the basis that, within our own national borders, we are creating a society based on the same principles of democracy, equality, peace and prosperity for all.

We enter 1993 conscious of important landmarks in our people's history. This year marks the 80th anniversary of the passing away of King Dinizulu ka Cetshwayo, one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC. It is also the 80th anniversary of the passing of the infamous Land Act of 1913 which sealed the dispossession of the African people. We recall with pride the heroic 1913 mass resistance of women against the imposition of passes.

This is the centenary year of the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, that symbol of resistance to white domination and colonialism. It also marks the 10th anniversary of the formation of the United Democratic Front which epitomised the unity in struggle of the democratic forces.

We salute all those who paid the supreme sacrifice to help bring our country to this decisive moment.

Let us grasp the opportunity and respond to the challenge of this year with the spirit and steadfastness that has always been the hallmark of the ANC.

Let us make 1993 the year during which our country effectively enters the transition to democratic rule: the year of votes for all in which we mobilise for a decisive victory for the forces of democracy.

### **Winnie Mandela Criticizes ANC Leadership**

*MB0801170193 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1610 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Mrs. Winnie Mandela, the estranged wife of the ANC [African National Congress] leader, Nelson Mandela, has accused the ANC leadership of lack of integrity and of misleading the oppressed majority of black South Africans.

Mrs. Mandela delivered her criticism of the ANC leadership during the funeral of ANC activist Helen Joseph. She said some of the top ANC officials were in leadership positions because they suffered under apartheid or spent decades in jail, and not because they had any leadership qualities. Her husband, Nelson Mandela, spent more than a quarter of a century in jail for trying to overthrow apartheid by force.

The Mandelas separated last year after Mrs. Mandela was sentenced to 6 years in jail on kidnapping charges and for being an accessory to assault.

Commenting on Mrs. Mandela's remarks, Nelson Mandela said he believed the ANC had not compromised any of its long-standing political principles in its current negotiations on democracy in South Africa. However, Mrs. Mandela said negotiations will not bring South Africa to democracy, because she said they are conducted between an elite of the oppressed and their oppressors.

### **APLA Leader Explains Reasons for Golf Club Attack**

*MB1001121793 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 10 Jan 93 p 4*

[By Themba Molefe]

[Text] The Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] was not "a rampant anti-white terrorist group, but an army at war against settler colonialism in South Africa, the last bastion of colonialism in Africa", says APLA chief commander Sabelo Phama.

Speaking at APLA's headquarters in Dar es Salaam on Friday [8 January], Phama said the attack on the golf club in King William's Town on December 8 was "aimed at specific targets who were celebrating military successes over APLA".

These included SADF [South African Defense Force] personnel and the "notorious" former Rhodesian Selous Scouts who had emigrated to South Africa.

APLA does not regard the Azanian struggle in black or white terms, but as against a specified enemy, there is no intended campaign to kill whites, he said. South Africa was highly militarised, and most whites were trained to shoot, belonged to the citizen force and could be called to take up arms at any time, he added.

Phama said there was no difference between a black and a white policeman as they performed the same duties and carried out the same instructions, especially against the liberation movements in general. Not all policemen were targets, anyway, as APLA knew its enemies, he said.

"It is unfair to say APLA is a loose cannon ball bent on defying the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] leadership, or that the PAC is using its military wing to whip up support for elections for an interim government," said Phama.

Phama is the PAC's Secretary for Defence, but prefers to be called APLA's commander "because that is really my function".

He added that APLA's high command and structures were surprised at the extensive publicity following the King William's Town incident.

"We are aware that, in order to appease whites, the Government is mounting a propaganda campaign which could lead to a full-scale cross-border raid into Tanzania.

"But I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed, and he knows it."

Also, Phama said, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's view was "a misinterpretation" when he said that APLA was being untrue to the principles of Africanism and the PAC's founder Robert Sobukwe.

"Tutu was never close to Prof Sobukwe, nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he Sobukwe said at that stage that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws at the time.

"He said, as the struggle develops we get purer and purer and are able to go into other areas of struggle.

"In other words, there was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could really watch his people die. He would not support Tutu's utterances today," Phama concluded.

#### **Government-Cosag Meeting Ends; Agreement Reached**

*MB0901204793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] One of the biggest stumbling blocks to the resumption of multiparty talks in this country has been removed. At a joint news conference in Pretoria today the government and the Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag] agreed to hold a multiparty planning conference as soon as possible. The agreement was reached after two days of talks in Pretoria between the two groups.

[Begin Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer recording] Prior to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] One, we had a preparatory meeting of all participants that declared themselves ready at that stage to arrange a multiparty conference on negotiations.

It is the view now that we are basically in the same situation. There was a deadlock for quite a long time in terms of negotiations at the national level, and obviously we have to arrange a way to get all parties back to the negotiating table. [end recording]

[Reporter Linda van Tilburg] The past two days' talks centered mainly around Cosag's grievances, and it was made clear at the conference that all of them had not been addressed. Cosag members are still bitter about agreements reached between the government and the ANC [African National Congress]:

[Begin Bophuthatswana representative Rowan Cronje recording] We are concerned that in such agreements, or such understandings, the government is bound by those agreements, and that if one goes to a multiparty conference, the question arises: to what degree, having had and received inputs from other groups, do you change your position? In other words, you are not going to a multiparty conference with an open mind. [end recording]

[Van Tilburg] Another positive development for negotiations is that it seems as if the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the government are moving closer. Both Mr. Meyer and the IFP's Dr. Frank Mdlalose raised the possibility of intensive bilateral talks between the government and the IFP. If a multiparty planning conference comes off, South Africa could for the first time see the ANC and the Conservative Party around the same table, but the government still has to sell the idea to the other Codesa participants, including the ANC. The CP has not yet made a firm commitment to participate.

[Begin unidentified CP representative recording] We will be referring—our delegation will be referring this matter back to our principals, and they will decide finally on our further action. [end recording]

#### **Joint Statement Issued**

*MB0901120393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1139 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by South African Communication Service]

[Text] At a meeting held in Pretoria over the last two days between delegations of Cosag [Concerned South Africa's Group] and the RSA Government it was agreed that a multi-party planning conference should be held to assess the current situation and to prepare for multiparty negotiations.

It was further agreed that all parties who participated in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] as well as other parties with proven support and the governments of the self governing territories should participate in the multi-party planning conference.

**ANC Welcomes Decision**

MB1101073793 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] has welcomed the decision by the Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag] to enter negotiations, saying Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] talks are back on track.

The government and Cosag reached agreement on Saturday [9 January] to try convening a multiparty preparatory meeting to set up multiparty constitutional negotiations. The ANC says it welcomes this decision, but it says that some of Cosag's members held back saying they have to refer the agreement to their principals.

**11 Jan Review of Current Events, Issues**

MB1101124493

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

Criticism of Early Prisoner Release—"Yes, the prisons are overcrowded but reducing the prison population by letting people out ahead of time is not the way to resolve that problem," asserts the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 8 January. "Fewer children in prison (this is being attended to), greater use of the system of community service, fewer people kept in prison for long periods awaiting trial, a rapid building of more prisons, even the privatization of some jails (as is happening in several countries) are preferable." "If the government toughened up not just on killers but all criminals, by seeing to it that sentences are fully carried out, we would have fewer murderers—and far fewer people who think that crime pays."

**THE STAR**

Politicians Keener To Seek Negotiations Settlement—"Whereas 1992 was characterised by bull-headedness and brinkmanship, this year has seen the politicians keen to find each other once again, and eager to reassure the

public that a settlement is possible," points out a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 January. "On Friday Nelson Mandela delivered a conciliatory message of hope. On Saturday the Concerned South Africans Group agreed to take part in a committee aimed at restarting talks. The major catalyst for this unexpected rush of reason is a negative one: most leaders seem to have taken fright at the mess they made of 1992."

**BUSINESS DAY**

Model C School System May Be Abolished Soon—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 11 January in a page 4 editorial believes that parents adjusting their budgets to life with Model C schools "will be disconcerted by the news that DP [Democratic Party] and ANC [African National Congress] spokesmen believe the system may be scrapped within months. The parties believe the system will disappear as soon as the racial departments of education are disbanded, and that this could happen ahead of the formation of an interim government. White resistance to change in education is even more pronounced than resistance to change in general."

**CAPE TIMES**

ANC Moves From Street Politics To Electioneering—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 7 January in a page 6 editorial congratulates the ANC and its allies in the western Cape "on their decision not to hold a mass demonstration on the day that Parliament opens. Mass action of one sort or another has marked the opening of Parliament every year since the unbanning of prohibited organizations by President F.W. de Klerk. The switch in tactics is a healthy and positive development." The ANC in the western Cape is preparing for the country's first non-racial elections. "The switch from street politics to electioneering is a national rather than merely a regional trend, tending to confirm that the ANC is keen to implement pre-election transitional arrangements as quickly as possible, moving towards the installation of an interim government of national unity."



## Angola

### Government, UNITA Continue Fighting

#### Seizure of Huambo Announced

*MB1001072093 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] The headquarters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] in the city of Huambo was stormed by government forces on 9 January after five hours of fierce clashes. Government forces are in complete control of the city. After their defeat, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola fled.

[Begin recording] Communique:

1. The General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] informs the public opinion that after several hours of heavy fighting, it is in control of the military situation in the cities of Bie and Huambo.

2. As a result of those actions, FAA units stormed the headquarters of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]-UNITA, that is, the private residence of Jonas Savimbi.

3. The main UNITA leaders are on the run and some of them have offered to surrender to government forces.

[dated] 9 January 1993

[signed] FAA General Staff in Luanda [end recording]

#### UNITA 'Counterattacks' in Huambo, Luena

*MB1001121993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] The General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces has been meeting. From the General Staff, Carlos Garcia has the details:

[Begin Garcia recording] As expected, this morning National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces launched a number of counterattacks against the city of Huambo from the outlying areas, carrying out intense artillery bombardments.

The same thing is taking place in Luena, where, after being expelled from that city, UNITA troops regrouped in order to mount counterattacks.

We have learned at the FAA General Staff that the FAA as well as the National Police are in control of the military situation of those cities, and are fighting UNITA troops in the outlying areas. Blows are being inflicted on the main FALA focuses of resistance. [end recording]

### Government Claims Control of Huambo

*MB1001203893 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 2026 GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Text] The People's Television of Angolan news desk has just received a communique issued by the Angolan Armed Forces, which says that the military situation in Luena, Cuito, Saurimo, and Huambo is under the full control of the government forces.

That communique says the government forces continue fighting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces in the outlying areas of the city of Huambo. The communique also states that the UNITA forces are protected by long range artillery.

In Bie Province, UNITA is believed to have lost more than 100 men. More than 20 officers were detained, including senior officers in the UNITA armed forces.

The communique also reports that assorted war materiel was captured.

#### 'Intense Fighting' Reported in Huambo

*MB1101053193 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The General Staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] has issued a communique, rejecting the unfounded claims made by the government news media with a view to deceiving Angolan and international public opinion. The communique is read by Jorge Chitende:

[Begin Chitende recording] Intense fighting continues in the city of Huambo, following the premeditated People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] attack. Our forces have already killed, among others, Major (Bettencourt), Air Force commander for the Central Region. A tank captain has been captured, giving us strategic information. Hundreds of FAPLA and Riot Police members have been killed.

Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and FALA supreme commander, as well as the entire party leadership are in the city of Huambo.

Our forces are still involved in mopping up operations in the city of Bie. Bie Province Governor Luis Paulino dos Santos and other officials are on the run. [end recording]

That was Jorge Chitende, reading a General Staff communique signed by General Ben-Ben.

#### UNITA Reportedly Takes Cuito City

*MB0801162993 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] The Angolan Government said today that it had lost contact with its forces fighting rebel troops in the central city of Cuito.

Unconfirmed reports say the city has fallen to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces, indicating the first major victory by UNITA troops since fighting broke out last week. Yesterday the Army said it had captured thousand of rebels in the week-long offensive and that the rebels had asked for a cease-fire.

Fighting between UNITA and government troops increased in the last few weeks following UNITA's rejection of election results back in September.

### Clash in Saurimo

*MB0801205793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Correspondent's report]

[Text] The city of Saurimo in Lunda Sul Province has been shaken by violent gunfire of different calibers. Everything started when elements belonging to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] staying at Luachimo Hotel tried to disarm a policeman who was carrying out his normal duties. Obviously, the national police reacted promptly. The gunfire lasted three hours, causing human and material loss which has yet to be determined. The FALA forces' objective to destroy the residence of the governor, the palace, the local radio station, and other useful installations in the province was thwarted. During their flight in disarray, UNITA forces used very destructive weapons as they fled to Catoca, about 30 km from the city of Saurimo.

From 1430 [1330 GMT], the situation was under the complete control of the national police. Information received so far reveals that most of UNITA's pilot committees have been destroyed. It will be noted that Saurimo residents acted in a laudable manner, participating on the side of the forces of order against the arrogance of Black Cockerel's men.

According to a reliable source, the capital city of Lunda Sul urgently needs medicines and food as some outlaws, taking advantage of the situation, broke into a number of warehouses, stealing everything that was useful.

### Zairian Forces Reported With FALA

*MB0901213793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In the city of Saurimo, Lunda Sul Province, the situation is relatively calm. The police are alert because there are still isolated Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] groups on the outskirts of the city, carrying out criminal actions. [passage omitted]

UNITA continues to regroup its troops in Catoca and other areas on the outskirts of the city of Saurimo in an attempt to occupy the city.

In the neighboring Lunda Norte Province, UNITA continues to carry out troop movements from the border with the Republic of Zaire toward the city of Dundo.

Also in the north of the country [words indistinct] elements from the Zairian Army, fighting alongside FALA forces, notably in N'zeto, (Nungo-Grande), and Quelo, coming from Uige and Bengo for military actions against Soyo. There are reports that FALA forces intend to paralyze oil exploration in Zaire Province.

### Fighting in Luena

*MB1001074393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] At dawn today government forces reacted to an Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] attack, destroying every National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] pilot committee in the city of Luena, Moxico Province. Our Luena correspondent reports:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] At 0200 today, FALA attacked the Police Provincial Command in the city of Luena, sparking off a conflict. Superintendent Jose Joao, provincial commander of the National Police, has the details:

[Joao] As part of its provocations and offensive plans to storm the city of Luena, at 0200 yesterday [as heard], 10 January, FALA stormed the Luena command. UNITA was expelled from the city and its provincial delegation, subunits, and every pilot committee were destroyed. Ten people were captured and an unspecified number of people killed.

Backed by the residents, the forces of public order are involved in mopping up operations in the city and outlying areas. The (Sangondo) area, where most of UNITA armed units were deployed, has been taken. We will issue other details in due course. [end recording]

### Fighting Near Ndalatando

*MB1001125293 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] At 1000 [0900] today, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's [MPLA] armed forces stationed in (Mzinda), west of Ndalatando, once again tried to attack the capital of Cuanza Norte Province. The glorious Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] annihilated the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police force which was involved in a diversionary operation. The main force, led by Captain Jojo, is progressing in a west to east direction along the Angolan Railroad in order to reach Ndalatando. The FAPLA-Riot Police force was airlifted from Dondo to the (Dubuende) River area where they are waiting to be supplied by air.

Government forces suffered dozens of casualties during this morning's clashes. This was disclosed by a FAPLA deserter who had been deployed in the Ndalatando areas yesterday in order to reconnoiter UNITA positions. He disclosed that MPLA-PT actions planned against the Angolan people amount to genocide. [passage omitted]

### Clashes in Bie

MB1101063393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Intense clashes continue in the city of Bie, with the patriotic and revolutionary Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] having the upper hand over the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police troops. Reports just in say that the enemy fled, abandoning hundreds of corpses and injured. Despite massive air support, the FAPLA-Riot Police force could not resist the thrust of our forces and have been driven into a corner. They are desperately awaiting FALA's final blow.

Military observers at FALA's General Staff say that the military offensive ordered by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola government against UNITA in provincial capitals was doomed to failure long before it was launched because government forces did not have the advantage or logistical support and their room for maneuver was limited.

### Government in Control in Luena

MB1101124993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Government forces are in control of the military situation in Luena, but the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] plans to launch a new attack on that city. The police and UNITA clashed this morning when that organization tried to infiltrate a military command in the city of Luena. Moxico Province Police Superintendent Jose Joao details the situation:

[Begin Joao recording] The number of casualties is on the increase. We have recorded 50 UNITA killed and taken 13 prisoners. We have captured about 25 AKM rifles, five antitank missile launchers, one Makarov pistol, and assorted rounds of ammunition and mortar shells.

We have noticed that after UNITA forces were expelled from Luena, that organization has been deploying troops and war materiel in the Sinai Novo and Cassongo areas, west and south of that city, respectively. We suspect UNITA will launch a new attack on Luena.

At approximately 1400 [1300 GMT] on 10 January, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola shelled the city, using mortars of various calibers. The shelling was aimed mainly at the installations of the UN Angola

Verification Mission-2, prompting us to rescue the mission's personnel. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The government forces are in control of Huambo, despite a number of clashes in the lower sector of that city. Our correspondent reports that heavy clashes have been reported in the Benfica, Sao Joao, and (Gachiva) wards. This afternoon, the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces is scheduled to issue a communique on the military situation in the city of Huambo.

Calm prevails in Bie, but the residents have told our correspondent that there has been sporadic shelling of the city, with UNITA using long-range artillery pieces.

Life returned to normal in the city of Lobito today after last week's heavy clashes. The local authorities have urged state agencies to control the emotions of the residents in order to prevent hatred and personal vengeance and abuses. [passage omitted]

### UNITA's Savimbi Addresses Nation

MB1101060893 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 11 Jan 93

["Address to the Nation" by Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, in Huambo; date not given—recorded]

[Text] To our heroic people of Angola: We have all been shaken by the electoral fraud. The foreigners were wrong because they thought people flocked to the polling stations in order to endorse the status quo. The foreigners could not understand that the people wanted a change. We are shaken and sad, but now the enemy has imposed war on us.

We are not the ones who attacked in Luanda, Lubango, Benguela, Sumbe, Bie, Huambo, and—tomorrow—in Menongue. They were the ones who attacked. History, however, has taught us two things which we wish to uphold: to negotiate and to struggle. In the struggle, we should defend our oppressed, poor, and humiliated people. In doing so, we will have complied with our party's program. When the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] wishes to talk, we will be ready.

It is a lie that my house is in MPLA hands. I am talking to you from Huambo. Our soldiers and officers have behaved with bravery and resolve, as during the last attack. I am at my post and will remain here.

I profoundly condemn MPLA's tribalism. The MPLA irrationally thinks that there should be one tribe that commands and another that obeys. Nobody wants to accept that anymore. If, on the one hand we are always ready for talks, we also have the Christian duty of defending those who are still alive and count on us.

I will address the nation at length when the situation is clearer. Our soldiers in Bie, Huambo, Benguela, Lobito,

Uige, Caxito, Ndalatando, and Quitexe are fighting gallantly. Our resolve cannot fail us. It was 16 years of hardships in order to bring about equality, tolerance, and national unity in a diversified society. Those are the definitive beacons of our program. Nobody should accept or even argue about the MPLA program because it is full of lies, like in 1989-90 when they claimed that they had [words indistinct].

To our FALA troops and humiliated people (?from) the supreme commander of [words indistinct]. We are ready to discuss and negotiate, but also ready to fight.

God will be on the side of the just, and so we will be able to reverse the situation so that those who stole the votes will be humiliated. God will compensate those whom the people trust.

God and Emmanuel are with us.

#### UNITA Representatives on Situation in Huambo

LD1001190693 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1800 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Luanda continues to say that the government has total control of the province of Huambo. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] denies this. A few moments ago we spoke on the phone with Jorge Chitende, one of Savimbi's aides, in Huambo. In his interview with Renato Silva, Chitende stated that Huambo is under intense fire. Adalberto da Costa Junior, UNITA's representative in Lisbon, also joined the interview:

[Begin recording] [Silva] Adalberto Costa Junior, we have information that alleged white soldiers, South Africans and Zaireans are fighting side by side with UNITA. Can you confirm this?

[Junior] [passage omitted] There are no South African, Moroccan, or Zairean soldiers, as the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] commonly claims. There are no internationalist soldiers and no mercenaries fighting with UNITA. None. As is common and frequent when they are not in total control, this sort of information emerges. It is false.

[Silva] We are in contact with Jorge Chitende in Huambo. Would you like to say hello?

[Junior] Good afternoon Jo, all well?

[Chitende] I am fine, in a strong position. I am talking to you from Huambo, the White House, where Dr. Savimbi has been following and directing his forces, in legitimate defense, in order to protect the dignity of Angolans here.

[Silva] How are things in Huambo?

[Chitende] There is intense fighting. Our forces have killed among others, Major (Bettencourt), the air force commander for the central area, and captured Major (Tanquista), who has made strategically valuable statements. Hundreds of government men and antiriot police

have been killed, and so we think that sooner or later, regardless of what the MPLA has been telling the international community, we predict the opposite. The UNITA leadership, Savimbi and his main aides, are still in Huambo so that together with our brave soldiers we can defend our great city.

[Silva] Are there many UNITA losses?

[Chitende] No, no, no. Quite the contrary, it is the MPLA who is in trouble. I could give you recordings of when Major (Bettencourt) was killed, but for security reasons I will not. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### UN Representative Anstee Comments on Fighting

MB0801162593 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 8 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Things seem to be going from bad to worse in Angola. The country has collapsed back into civil war. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] seem to have stopped talking to each other. Fighting has spread to towns in the south. Yesterday it was reported that battles were going on for the town of Cuito in the center of the country, and it looks as though the MPLA government had given up on a negotiated agreement with UNITA and was going all out for a military solution. It is even threatening to ban UNITA, and in the middle of it all are the United Nations peacekeeping monitors. On the line to Luanda, Robin White asked Margaret Anstee of the UN what the latest situation was:

[Begin recording] [Anstee] First of all, I am going to correct one thing; it is not true that the government and UNITA are not talking. They are talking at local levels and also at the national level, and at the top military level, and one of the things we are trying to bring about now is a meeting between General de Matos, the chief of General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces, and General Chilingutula of UNITA, in order to try to bring about the cease-fire and stop this senseless killing.

[White] And what is your latest news of the fighting?

[Anstee] Well, as you know, reports coming in by the hour [words indistinct] has been increasing and spreading over the country. They began, as you know, on 3 January with Lubango; then there was fighting which quickly spread to the main provincial centers, Namibe, Benguela, Lobito, Dondo, Caxito, Cuito, Bie. Our information is that Namibe, Benguela, Lobito, are all [word indistinct] I believe Dondo also. On Cuito, Bie, which you mentioned earlier, I am afraid, we have no information because the fighting was so bad there yesterday, and our team got caught in the cross-fire, that we had to evacuate them. We also evacuated some of the Medecins Sans Frontiers people, and in fact one of our military observers had a minor shrapnel wound, so I have no



up-to-date information of today's situation in Cuito. One area where fighting has broken out very fiercely today, a new area, is in Saurimo.

[White] And what is going on in Saurimo?

[Anstee] I have no details, except that fierce fighting began there at 1000 o'clock this morning; it is still going on, with the last report that I have of just about an hour ago.

[White] Where exactly is Saurimo?

[Anstee] Saurimo is in [the] northeast; it is the capital of Lunda Sul Province. It's right out in the northeast of the country, and we have one of our regional command posts there. One of the difficulties in providing any further information is that the situation is so bad that our people can no longer patrol. I think all the UNAVEM [UN Angola Verification Mission] accesses are blocked.

[White] Now, is basically what is going on an MPLA offensive against UNITA?

[Anstee] Well, this is what a lot of people are saying, but I think it is very difficult for us to ascertain with absolutely no shadow of doubt exactly what is happening. Both sides accuse the other of having started the incidents.

[White] But are towns like Namibe, Benguela, Lobito, and so on, have they all now fallen into MPLA. Are they totally under MPLA control?

[Anstee] Yes, but I don't see how we can talk about falling to the MPLA; we are talking about a sovereign government. The government was always in control of those towns. There was a government administration in place.

[White] Well, let me put it another way then. Has UNITA been entirely forced out of these towns?

[Anstee] Well, to my knowledge, definitely the UNITA presence has been greatly diminished there, and possibly totally eliminated. [end recording]

#### Foreign Minister on U.S. Recognition

MB0901062993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0611 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura has warned that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] could be outlawed because it is contravening the law. He noted that UNITA is subverting the new democratic order that has been established in the country. He announced that the government is to ask countries with which it has diplomatic relations to close down UNITA representations because they are illegal.

The foreign minister also said Angola has met all U.S. demands to be recognized as a sovereign and independent country:

[Begin de Moura recording] Notably, the withdrawal of the Cubans; the approval of their withdrawal timetable; a reduction in the number of the months that had been established for doing so; an announcement to the effect that free and fair multiparty elections would be held in Angola; the abolition of the one-party system; the setting of election dates; and so on. We have met all the demands the United States has been making in the course of this process. In terms of international law and in terms of norms regulating relations among states—be they big or small—there are no more reasons for not formally recognizing our existence as a sovereign and independent country. [end recording]

#### Official Sees Possible Change in U.S. Policy

LD0901002993 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Back to the situation in Angola with our guest, Deputy Foreign Minister Joao Bernardo de Miranda. In Angola the resumption of the war seems confirmed, but the Angolan Government does not want external military intervention. In particular, it opposes the arrival of Blue Helmets. This is what Joao Bernardo de Miranda told Monique Maas:

[Begin recording] [de Miranda] Angola opposes the sending of Blue Helmets. It would be outside the scope of the 1991 Bicesse peace agreements. We believe that any solutions aimed at resuming the peace process which might be adopted by the United Nations should be done so within the framework of the UN observers force currently here—namely, UNAVEM-2 [UN Angola Verification Mission-2]—whose mandate will be extended soon. We hope to discuss these issues with National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] so that the presence of UNAVEM-3 which, I believe, should be finalized in a month or so, should be defined so that UN observers have a more active role—namely, to be more deeply involved in monitoring and perhaps in advising the parties on what should be done or not in a more active manner.

You know that the United Nations has been unable to cover the whole of the national territory. This is why they missed many things, but nevertheless we consider that the UN presence here is absolutely necessary.

[Maas] Prime Minister Moco is reportedly getting ready to go to Washington. Why?

[Miranda] We have many issues to discuss, in particular economic ones. As you know, the United States has large economic interests in our country and perhaps a visit by the prime minister to the United States may only have an economic meaning since we have no formal diplomatic relations. U.S. officials come to Angola from time to time in the framework of the peace process, but we believe that the new Clinton administration might adopt a different stand to that taken by previous ones. [end recording]

**Minister Notes Need To 'Reanalyze' UN Role***MB0901060493 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Addressing a news conference in Lisbon, Interior Minister Andre Pitra Petroff has said he does not believe that certain National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] leaders are politicians. Petroff also said the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] must condemn those who violate the accords.

[Begin recording] [Petroff] The behavior of certain UNITA leaders, in Luanda and other urban centers, makes it difficult for one to believe they are politicians. Their peevishness and belligerence are attitudes that...[changes thought] We must reanalyze UNAVEM-2's role at this stage, now that the first legislative elections have been held. Steps are being taken to discuss and clarify its role.

[Reporter] Your Excellency [words indistinct] in Angola?

[Petroff] Verification and impartiality.

[Reporter] Do you believe they have been partial?

[Petroff] Unfortunately, we think they have been in some regards. For example, all incidents were seen as accidents along the route to democracy. Serious UNITA violations were perceived as accidents along that route. Now we can see the results. [end recording]

**Radio Comments on UNITA General's Defection***MB0801165393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] The present campaign mounted by the Futungo de Belas Palace to lure militants and sympathizers of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] will not change the course of history of this party which, in view of its nationalist nature and as a defender of the less privileged, will continue to move forward to guarantee victory for democracy. Pachitengo Nunda, who spent all his youth in UNITA ranks, has now decided to sacrifice his entire career for dollars from the Futungo de Belas Palace. Instead of using this money for the welfare of the people, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola is using it to lure people. Pachitengo Nunda was a party leader well known for his extremism who could have diverted the course of the revolution, particularly the youth, with his dangerous views.

**Ministerial Council Concludes Meeting***MB0901081393 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] The Council of Ministers concluded its first session today, after a two-day meeting which decided to create a state secretariat for planning and approved a new salaries policy.

The Council of Ministers session was chaired by Prime Minister Marcolino Moco. Today it discussed the government's organic structure [words indistinct] the Council of Ministers. As expected, the meeting also discussed draft laws on national defense, the armed forces, and compulsory military service.

Council of Ministers Secretary Carlos Feijo made the following assessment of the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Feijo] The Council of Ministers (?first) discussed a salary policy document presented by the relevant ministry. It is important to note that the following were the principal findings: In view of the current cost of living situation, we are going to make one (?isolated) salary adjustment. At a later stage the Finance Ministry will present the numbers and so forth on which such an adjustment will be based. Furthermore, the Council of Ministers has also decided that a study should be conducted on remuneration in the public service, whereby political posts will be differentiated from management and leadership posts, as well as from (?senior) administrative posts. In terms of this decision, this study must also be conducted within the general framework of implementing the measures that feature in the Economic Stabilization Program.

Today, within the context of the Council of Ministers' internal organization, we discussed the government's organic structure and the functioning of the Council of Ministers. Regarding the government's organic structure, I would like report that the creation of a state secretariat for planning has been suggested. Its principal functions will concern statistics, economic (?demography), and so forth. The meeting also discussed the creation of certain Council of Ministers support structures. We discussed the internal running and organization of our services within the context of the functioning of the Council of Ministers. We discussed ways to deal with incoming documents to be analyzed by the Council of Ministers. We discussed ways to assess and (?move such documents). We also discussed the way government officials must act within the framework of collective Council of Ministers action.

The Council of Ministers became acquainted with the General Law on Military Service, National Defense Law, and Armed Forces Law. More exhaustive discussions on those laws are expected to occur soon.

[Unidentified reporter] In his year-end speech, President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos said this meeting would also discuss the draft law on military crimes. Was that issue not touched on?

[Feijo] That draft law has not been discussed yet because it is in concluding stages. Nonetheless, the Angolan Armed Forces chief of General Staff could be submitting that draft law at any time for approval by the Council of Ministers. [end recording]

**\* Reporters Relive Events of Luanda Massacre**

93AF0200A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 14 Nov 92 pp 9-R, 14-R, 15-R

[Article by Henrique Monteiro]

[Text] Luanda after the massacre. Who gave the order to kill? Who provoked whom? Who is to blame? Also, the story of a group of reporters who for several hours were in the power of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

It was an enormous "No!" that seemed to spread across the immense savannah. Domingos, leader of the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] platoon, was not in a good mood. Perhaps he felt a certain fear, there in an forward post, apparently with no communications, only 12 km from the enemy lines—tanks and machine guns aimed at him and his men. Who could possibly want 19 people, calling themselves reporters, arriving from Luanda out of the blue, as if the country were not in the middle of a war? They would be allowed to leave without being bothered, by the same road they had come in on, but they would have to leave behind all their equipment. And there would be no discussion.

The UNITA men were surely nervous. None of them seemed to understand who we were and what we had gone there to do. "This is a provocation. You came here to cause confusion. Your meeting was scheduled for Tuesday and no one showed up. Go away, then," Domingos said, furious.

None of us, however, knew what he meant about Tuesday. We tried to explain that we had come from Luanda because there we only knew what the Government and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] wanted to tell us. Only one soldier seemed to understand this. The others directed their suspicious gazes at us or accused us of spying. "They have received diamonds and mercury," one of them even said. The one who seemed more cooperative asked, "How goes the fighting in Luanda?" What fighting? We would not be the ones to tell him that it was over. That many of their leaders were dead, dozens of their generals arrested, and other officials fleeing, hiding here and there until they could reach a place controlled by the movement. I said something vague—that the situation was confused, that many people had already died, and that peace was necessary. "It's terrible! It's terrible!" repeated the FALA soldier, shaking his head.

Less than an hour earlier, before we had arrived at the Bange bridge, just beyond Porto Quipiri, where we found Domingos and his men, I had heard the same phrase, but from a government policeman.

We were on a small hill overlooking a small trail—on which hundreds of people were walking in our direction, like ants. They carried their belongings on their heads—baskets and earthen pots containing blankets, pots and pans, even live chickens, all their wealth. They were

fleeing the fighting in the neighboring province of Bengo—from the 12 hellish km, now deserted, separating the UNITA lines from those of the Government army. They were fleeing the city of Caxito, 60 km from Luanda, which Savimbi's movement had taken, perhaps fearing that the same thing would happen to them as had happened to the "kwachas" [UNITA militants] in the capital. They were fleeing blindly, not knowing what would happen to them or where they were going. Within a week, there would be over 10,000 of them.

That hill, where the trucks were parked that would take them to Luanda, was the end of the road. "You're here, just a little bit farther, you're here!" the policeman at my side yelled to them—just before also telling me, with the same head gesture as his enemy, "It's terrible! It's terrible!"

One noticed that some of the people had fled with only the clothes on their back. They did not even bring water. They were dehydrated, after almost 30 km of forced march during which they had to cross two rivers. They did not come by the road, which was too dangerous, but rather through the middle of the jungle, barefoot; the feet of some of the smallest children had already been injured by the stones; other children came on the backs of their parents or their oldest siblings. "Strength, pioneer, you'll soon know who is the friend of the people," a guard yelled to a child of five or six. "They don't harm the women and children; only the men and older boys," one of the refugees told me. "I fled because you only die once." Another, when he saw the police, broke down in tears and cried, "They killed my friends on the road! I barely escaped. Now they don't even fire their guns, they kill with machetes." "Don't cry, take care of yourself," said those who passed. And the policeman, who was also there searching for his own family, with nothing left to say, repeated that all this was terrible. As bad as the deaths in Luanda and Huambo, in Benguela and Malanje. Vengeance, hate, and getting even.

"The people are fleeing? But that is bad," a soldier from the UNITA platoon told me later. "When the MPLA sees there are no people here, they will begin to bombard us."

We were at what appeared to be a FALA forward position, in Bengo. Some 40 km to the south was Luanda—which now, free of UNITA, offered an excellent Sunday on the beach. 12 km to the north was the city of Caxito, capital of Bengo Province.

It was not without discussion that we arrived. For some, the idea of meeting with UNITA seemed irresponsible. It involved passing from one front line to the other, without establishing any contacts in advance. When a colleague asked a government soldier if he thought we would be able to go to Caxito, he summed up the situation with laudable common sense: "It doesn't matter what I think, it matters what they (UNITA) think." But we didn't have any idea what they thought.

We went on foot. When we passed the lines of the government Angolan Armed Forces [FAA], they looked



at us as if we were crazy and advised us not to go farther. But most of us insisted—and those who were against it could not remain there behind. We continued on. We passed the Mae Juliana restaurant, halfway along the Luanda-Caxito road, and shortly afterwards entered the town of Porto Quipiri, now a ghost town, where we saw only some poor starving dogs and some skeletal goats. Farther ahead, after a curve in the road, was the bridge over the Bange. And we knew that from that point on, UNITA was in control.

When they saw the first cars approach, the reaction of the FALA soldiers was to run into the jungle. They seemed frightened. Later, little by little, they returned, now with their guns aimed at the unexpected visitors. On the bridge were burned trucks and cranes that completely blocked the road. We stopped, and started up a conversation.

They had us cross the bridge and sat us at a table, under a tree. The technicians and photographers, eager for pictures, began to work. At first, everything seemed simple: the soldiers talked and laughed with us, smoked our cigarettes, and posed for our cameras. The only thing they asked was that we wait for "the elder" (the chief). The gathering continued to be animated, until they demanded that we hand over all the film and videocassettes containing the pictures taken there. Some protested in the name of freedom of the press, which in that situation seemed futile and unrealistic. The mood deteriorated—and one of the soldiers even put forward the notion that we were spies. In the end, everyone handed over their film, although the soldiers collected it in such a disorganized fashion that we were able to hide some. Many kept the pictures that interested them most.

They asked us to continue waiting for the "elder." Two hours passed without anyone in charge appearing. They were two hours of tension, aggravated by the repeated appearance of more reporters: a team from TV GLOBO and a reporter from FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, who had the brilliant idea of bringing with them an Angolan driver. He ended up having a pistol pointed at his head. Two soldiers carefully verified his documents and then paid no more attention to him.

At one point they themselves chose as our interlocutor RTP reporter Carlos Albuquerque, whom they called over to one side. Some of us, realizing the tenor of the conversation, had the feeling that they were considering taking us hostage. For that reason, when Domingos came over to announce that we would return by the same road, although we had to leave the cameras, it was a relief.

Although some reporters handed over their cameras immediately, others tried to resist. "Give them that stuff and let's get out of here," a reporter from THE TIMES said in English. "Don't argue," shouted the most cautious among us. There were those of us who appeared ignorant of the rules governing the behavior of reporters

in these situations. Those who protested least knew how to fake it and abandon the area with the film in their pockets.

After the UNITA soldiers had carefully searched all the cars, we left. Some 500 meters ahead, in Porto Quipiri, we noticed that ten soldiers had put up a barricade in the road, to prevent any attempt at fleeing on our part.

They told us to follow them and we returned to "no-man's land," back to the FAA lines and from there to Luanda.

Contrary to what the propaganda of both sides stated later, we were not with warlike soldiers, ready to invade the capital, but rather with confused and fearful men who seemed to know very little about what had occurred in Angola in recent weeks.

On our return, we were able to see the burned cars of the UNITA leaders who had tried to flee Luanda that Sunday, 1 November, when they realized they were irredeemably lost. First, to the left, Chivukuvuku's car, where Savimbi's vice president Jeremias Chitunda had died. A little farther on, in the middle of the Roque Santeiro market, there were the remains of the vehicle driven by Salupeto Pena, nephew of the UNITA leader, who many believe lost everything.

Later, not far from the Portuguese ambassador's residence, another destroyed automobile, which was presumed to have been driven by Salupeto's brother General Ben-Ben.

In less than 48 hours, the UNITA that had threatened to "reduce Luanda to dust" had been destroyed in the capital. In the poor neighborhoods, civilians took responsibility for liquidating those whom they assumed to be "kwachas," militants of the "black rooster's" party—and they did not forget personal revenge and old affronts.

Suddenly, everything was reversed. The international community, which had not pardoned Savimbi, now sympathized with him. MPLA radicals, who no longer risked anything, took pride in the number of "kwachas" they had killed. Some UNITA leaders who had spent the last six months demanding an end to the "ninjas" now saw themselves obliged to ask their protection so as not to die at the hands of armed, furious civilians.

All the agitation after the elections was, in truth, an enormous bluff. Salupeto wrote to Savimbi, informing him that "he had passed the message of the movement." They were in fact convinced that the MPLA's image was that of a party that was conformist, persecuted, cowardly, without the strength to react to the progressive advance of UNITA, which little by little was taking new positions. But if UNITA's bluff was to pretend to be stronger than it was, the MPLA's was to pretend to be innocent and soft. Suddenly, the government and the president, like those who "sic" a dog with a simple whistle, armed the populace. Two days before the

Luanda massacre, weapons were distributed in the barrios and the largest factories. One man—Santana Imperial, head of the popular vigilante organizations—suddenly took on importance. And organized by Interior Vice Minister Fernando Piedade Santos "Nando" (who in reality was becoming the true political decision-maker), and FAA Chief of Staff General Antonio Franca "Ndalu," the demobilized soldiers, those who had the biggest grudges against the old enemy, took control of the situation. The Emergency Police commanded by Colonel Ekwikwi, in addition to participating in the riots, saved many UNITA leaders, including Carlos Morgado, Wambo, Chivukuvuku, from immediate death.

Almost as suddenly as they had appeared, the armed civilians—who the MPLA referred to simply as "impulsive persons"—disappeared. At least from the center of the city, since in the slums there are reports that the persecutions and acts of revenge have continued.

To call what took place the weekend of 31 October and 1 November in Luanda a communist coup is the same as believing that 25 November 1975 in Lisbon was a fascist coup.

A few days after the Luanda massacre, "Nando" made a solemn announcement to the UNITA representatives in the CCPM: "We are fed up." The MPLA leaders were not willing to continue playing the role of cowards. In their view, the last straw was the explosion of the ammunition dump on 15 October. The next two weeks they wove a careful fabric and began saying that UNITA wanted to wage "an undeclared war" against them. And they decided to expel them from Luanda. On its side, UNITA was arrogant. It did whatever it wished—it occupied the land that it wanted—and there seemed to be no opposition. For Saturday the 31st, it had planned what would be, in the MPLA's view, the supreme affront: it would call a demonstration in the capital. Some UNITA leaders, in the face of this situation, wanted to call it off. But Savimbi was clear: Do it "at any cost," he wrote in a letter to Salupeto. The Luanda provincial governor prohibited it, but UNITA continued with the plan. From their headquarters in Malanga, now completely destroyed, some demonstrators emerged. There were shots. Suddenly, the entire city was under fire at the same time. The headquarters, the hotels, and the houses where the leaders lived were attacked. Civilians went out into the streets. On Saturday afternoon Salupeto kept up his threats, even against the Portuguese of the CCPM, telling them that they would be killed. On Sunday, he could do nothing but flee. Who started the killing? This is a question it seems impossible to answer.

We returned to Luanda, now less tense than 15 days earlier. The Angolan capital had gone back to being one color only, without the pluralism that the MPLA and UNITA posters had conferred upon it, with their portraits of Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi.

Near the buildings where the main fighting had occurred, there remained traces of the violence: the Hotel Turismo, the UNITA headquarters in Sao Paulo and Malanga, Miramar's house, where Savimbi had based himself. Bullet holes and mortar damage: "They emptied round after round," said witnesses. Many more people were against Savimbi's supporters than against those who attacked them, as is still apparent. In front of each of the sites, there were burned cars—the famous GMC's in which the "black rooster's" leaders had ridden.

Otherwise, the city is as always: dirty, unorganized, plagued with the smell of garbage and death. At night, it is normal to hear the sound of bursts of machinegun fire here and there. But there is much less tension. Luanda has returned to being in the background of a war that can still be avoided, rather than in the middle of the crossfire that everyone expected.

After the storm, the calm. The prisoners—at least the important ones—are being well treated. They are said, euphemistically, to be "in government custody," in the Ministry of Defense. Some move freely about the city, though accompanied by police, and are permitted to meet with other UNITA leaders. The MPLA has ordered the civilians back off the streets and is again speaking of Bicesse. But there is one thing that appears certain this time around: at least in Luanda, Savimbi's movement will never again come loaded down with weapons.

#### \* Law Professor Discusses Electoral Law

93AF0200C Lisbon SABADO in Portuguese 3 Dec 92  
p 98

[Text] Will the outgoing Angolan president have the legal and constitutional power in the current phase to continue with the institutionalization of the deliberative and executive bodies such as the National Assembly and the Government?

SABADO talked in Luanda with Dr. Fernando Oliveira, Agostinho Neto University law professor, for whom the Bicesse Accords "perfectly define the rules" of a transition process characterized by a juridical-constitutional framework based fundamentally on the electoral law and the revision of the constitutional law.

"In fact, there was no rupture or break in continuity of the state's powers and organization. Everything was defined and apparently accepted by all concerned," points out Fernando Oliveira. "Now we see that there are mental reservations on UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] part. It is curious to note that in the newspaper of its vice president, Jeremias Chitunda, he specifically states that in the case of a UNITA election victory, what would follow would be what was explicitly referred to as a democratic coup, consisting of stripping the powers of the National Assembly and having all powers assumed by the president of the republic, who in their view would obviously be President Savimbi."

This event did not take place, and consequently all the Angolan political forces are maintaining their commitments to recognize the Angolan State and the president of the republic, and hence all its laws, particularly Law 23/92 promulgated last September, Article 5 of which states, most timely, that the mandate of the president of the republic, in effect as of the date of that law, is considered valid and extended until the taking of office of the president elected in the presidential elections of 29 and 30 September 1992.

"It happens that the outgoing president who is thus seeing his mandate extended is precisely the same president who obtained a relative majority among all the candidates," points out Professor Fernando Oliveira.

The question that now arises is only with regards to, in the words of that jurist, the "harmonization, in chronological terms, of the installation of all the different bodies resulting from the elections and the formal aspects of each of those bodies, i.e., their functions."

The mandate of the PR [President of the Republic], according to the law itself, is conferred by the Supreme Court. The Parliament or National Assembly has become a legal body through self-investiture, which occurred yesterday in the Palace of the Congresses, while the government, since there exists an elected Parliament, can be nominated by the PR, according to provisions stipulated in the constitution.

"There is no exception to the law," Professor Fernando Oliveira added. The only technical impediment is interruption of the regular process established in Article 12 of the constitutional law, which discusses the schedule of all the steps and deadlines to be respected after holding the election and publishing the final results. These deadlines have already been violated with respect to the very publication of the election results, and with respect to the scheduling of the second round of presidential elections.

"The entire framework of the Bicesse Accords was brutally interrupted, by armed confrontation. The solution, in my view, would be to take advantage of all possible elements already consolidated regarding the establishment of a democratic state of law, given that through the constitutional law the Parliament has all the necessary tools to function within a legal-judicial framework. Even putting aside the 70 UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] deputies still absent, the National Assembly still possesses a quorum of 150 deputies representing 11 parties, that is, 68 percent of the seats in Parliament," Professor Fernando Oliveira said. The solution in Angola is legal. At least that is the opinion of one of the most highly regarded Angolan jurists.

## Malawi

### 20,000 Attend Opposition Rally in Blantyre 10 Jan

MB1001183193 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 10 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It has been a big day for the Malawian opposition group, the United Democratic Front, or UDF. They planned to hold their first mass rally at the Kwacha International Center in Blantyre, after getting the police go-ahead. The opposition is trying to get its voice heard in time for the referendum on multiparty politics, which is to take place on 15 March. (Kubina Onadike) of Interpress Services was at the rally and, on the line to Blantyre, Josephine Hazeley asked him how it had gone:

[Begin recording] [(Onadike)] It was quite extraordinary. It was due to start at 1245 [1045 GMT] and by 1200 the crowd was small and people were really worried that there would be a low turnout, that people had been too frightened or intimidated to turn out, but, by three o'clock, through word of mouth, the crowd had swollen to about 20,000 and people were still coming in. Ordinary Malawians were flabbergast. They were saying it was beyond their expectations, that now multipartyism has really begun, and some kind of dam had been broken. People could now express themselves.

[Hazeley] And was it all peaceful?

[(Onadike)] It was peaceful. The crowd was well disciplined. It was good-humored and they were just there to see and hear the opposition. What was interesting was that the UDF chaired the same platform with Aford [Alliance for Democracy], the other opposition party. The experience of Kenya is really reverberating here in Malawi and at the grassroots people are saying that they have to have a united front to face President Banda.

[Hazeley] In our program yesterday, the UDF spokesperson was a bit worried about harassment. Was there any sign of police harassment at the rally today?

[(Onadike)] No. Of course, there was a lot of plainclothes (?policemen) in the crowd. There were some police vehicles hidden away from the crowd. You could not actually see them there. There were police there, but the [words indistinct] a problem in actually being able to stage the rally. Their first venue was turned down and the second venue was finally agreed, but they were not allowed to publicize it. That was the opposition's main fear: They were not allowed to put up any posters, the media would not carry any messages, so there were concerns that people would not actually turn out, but that was proved wrong. The main problem of the crowd was that they were concerned over intimidation or harassment by the police and as soon as that fear evaporated, then they just came out in droves.

[Hazeley] Go on.

[(Onadike)] It was held near a township called (Indurande), which is known as the Soweto of Blantyre. That is the main opposition stronghold and the crowd was [word indistinct] through all the time, continually, some running, jogging, trying to get to the meeting before it closed, and the crowds just kept on coming in and there were bus loads, truck loads of people coming down. The floodgates had really opened. Even now, one hour or so after the meeting, there is people running through the streets of Blantyre, waving yellow handkerchiefs, which is the color of the UDF [words indistinct], and it seems that now that fear that had been in Malawi for so long has evaporated. [end recording]

### Opposition Objects to Referendum Dates

AB1001124093 Paris AFP in English 1209 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By Regina Jere]

[Text] Lusaka, Jan 10 (AFP) - Malawi's opposition has warned it will "find it difficult" to participate in a referendum on multi-party rule unless government addresses their demands which include postponing the poll to June 15.

The two main opposition movements, the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) said in a joint statement faxed to AFP Sunday that the March 15 referendum date announced by Life President Kamuzu Banda last December 31 "is unrealistic and unacceptable."

"Realising that the people of Malawi have been deprived of political education for the past 32 years and that neither the Malawi Government nor us in the opposition have any experience in the running of the referendum, six months should be the minimum and adequate period before the referendum," the said.

The two groups, which have decided to campaign jointly in the pre-referendum period, also reiterated calls for an independent referendum commission, unhindered and free access to the national media, removal of restrictions on campaigning and the making of political speeches and the repeal of the public security act which and the sedition laws which they said could impede the referendum exercise.

They called on the Malawi Government not to enter the referendum exercise as a political party but as an association.

"Should they insist that they should join as political party, and in the event that they lose in the referendum they should resign as government as their losing will mean a vote of no confidence in them," the statement said.

"We in the opposition insist that should the Malawi Government fail to address the issues raised herein to

our satisfaction, we shall find it difficult to participate in the referendum exercise," it stressed.

Banda said he will allow all Malawians with a police permit to campaign freely prior added that no one would be allowed to make "partisan political statements or advertisement on local radio or newspapers."

Last year, the opposition mounted unprecedented challenges to Banda's autocratic rule of more than a quarter-century, sparking a violent crackdown by security forces.

### Official Reacts to Opposition's Referendum Demands

MB1101122993 London BBC World Service in English 0630 GMT 11 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program introduced by Ben Dotsei Malor]

[Text] Malawian opposition groups have expressed serious reservations about the choice of March the 15th as the date for the referendum on multiparty politics. In a joint statement issued yesterday, the two main opposition movements, the United Democratic Front, UDF, and the Alliance for Democracy, Aford, said that the date should be extended by three months, to the 15th of June. This extension, they contend, will allow the people of Malawi, deprived of political education for the past 32 years, to be prepared for the voting on multipartyism. Dr. Heatherwick Ntuba is the minister of health and spokesman for the Malawian Government. On the line to Blantyre last night I asked him for his response to the new opposition demands.

[Begin recording] [Ntuba] Yes, my reaction is one of not understanding them at all. They have pushed for a referendum at the beginning as quickly as possible and now they are complaining about the referendum coming too soon. The reasons they are giving for wanting to extend the time for the referendum up to June don't make any sense to us at all. Whatever it is that needs to be done in preparation for the referendum can easily be done within that period. So, we do not understand their complaint at all.

[Malor] But in hindsight, Dr. Ntuba, don't you think you should have involved the opposition movements in Malawi and outside Malawi, so that the date was agreed on by all the parties before you went ahead?

[Ntuba] Well, you are sounding as if it's easy for two groups opposing each other to come together and agree on any item. This is not natural; it doesn't always happen that way. These people in opposition will feel it's their duty to oppose anything that the government does and in that case it's not necessary to involve them on each and every issue. We of course listen to their complaints, and we have taken care of the genuine issues in their complaints, but to say that we should follow each and everything that they are putting forward to us, I think is being unrealistic. No government operates like that.



[Malor] But they are insisting that the date, the 15th of March, is unacceptable, and is unrealistic in the sense that for the past 32 years people in Malawi haven't had any other option but the one-party system, Dr. Ntuba.

[Ntuba] Well, they have been explaining what their reason was for wanting an extension and they are talking about the election machinery not being put in place within that period. That's not true. We have had elections in Malawi before; we have had campaigns to register voters. It does not require that much more time. The question of telling people to vote for the one-party system or for the multiparty system, this is a debate that has been going on for a long time; it just didn't start on the New Year's day when the life president announced the date for the referendum. I think that is a distortion of the facts to create to the outside people that the only time the opposition groups in this country have been allowed to talk for the merits of the multiparty system is only that time between now and the 1st of January when the date of the referendum was announced. [sentence as heard] That is a complete distortion of the fact. It is not true.

[Malor] Dr. Ntuba, the opposition is asking for an independent referendum commission. Is your government prepared to offer that?

[Ntuba] Yes, in fact the government asked the opposition to suggest names of the people that should be included in the referendum commission. The opposition gave names of these people that they wanted to be on the referendum commission and the life president has included these people on the referendum commission. If that is not a neutral or an independent commission, I don't see how else you could make it independent. They participated in the formation; they gave names.

[Malor] What would you do if the opposition groups, the opposition movements, decided because you have decided to go ahead with the March 15th date, they wouldn't participate in the referendum?

[Ntuba] Well, as I said, the opposition groups have been very, very unreasonable. They called for this referendum themselves, they should work together with us so that it is a free and fair one. [end recording]

## Mozambique

### \* Peace Process: Political Dynamics Analyzed

#### \* New Leadership

92AF0266A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Dec 92 p 14

[Article by Armando Rafael: "Samora: Forgotten Figure"; first paragraph is DIARIO DE NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] The king is dead; long live the king. Eight years after his death, there are almost no references to Samora

Machel in Mozambique. Chissano and Dhlakama are the new prophets in a country that is attempting, slowly, to return to normal.

For one arriving in Maputo, the contrast with earlier times could not be greater. The ideological warfare that characterized the first years of independence can only be detected, with great difficulty, [in the traces of the graffiti] on the neglected walls of the buildings, and only the shortage of paint has preserved this. This forgetfulness does not seem to trouble anyone, since no one feels the loss of the "leaden years," as some Mozambicans call the "golden" age of Samora: the period from 1978 to 1986. He was killed in a 1986 airplane crash following a summit meeting of the frontline countries, which has also been forgotten.

"It is much better now," said Sebastiao, a driver from Inhambane who, like many others, came to Maputo in search of a job. "Now people do what they want. It is not like it was in Samora's time, when the government told us what we had to do."

Under a scorching sun, which did not appear to bother the many people who, in the early morning, were traveling the road between Maputo and Matola, on the outskirts of the Mozambican capital, Sebastiao suddenly remembered that good things always have a price, as if it were a matter of money. "But now things are very expensive," he explained, with the reasoning of an average citizen who is only trying to survive from day to day. "There was money, but there was nothing to buy. Now, there is everything, but it is expensive."

What Sebastiao said was confirmed by many other people, particularly in Maputo, where any item costs much more than it does in the interior or in such cities as Beira or Inhambane. On average, people who live in the Mozambican capital always need double or triple what they earn to live on.

Perhaps this gives a better understanding of the corruption and the double employment with which the people have learned to live since Joaquim Chissano came to power and the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] relaxed its iron control over the economy, completely liberating many sectors.

Products began to appear and there was no shortage of anything in the markets. What the country does not produce—which is almost everything—comes from South Africa, Swaziland, or Europe. By what route, no one knows, but everyone suspects: it comes in by the "back door" or is purely and simply diverted from the mass of international aid, particularly that which is destined for marketing channels.

The North American dollar and the South African rand are thus beginning to dominate the unofficial market in a city which, because of the war, has grown without any control, to the point that today it shelters almost 2 million people, many of them in shanty towns that have sprouted up everywhere. No one enters these, least of all



the police. The assaults and murders are constant and "Kalashnikov" has become part of the everyday vocabulary. Nonetheless, very few people think about going back to their native areas. Comforted by the image of Eldorado that Maputo still represents to many Mozambicans, they are reluctant to believe that peace has returned to the country and that it is now possible to travel on the principal roads, although the danger of mines is still a threat on the others.

Perhaps because the country has changed, there are few people who still remember Samora, the "father" of independence, with nostalgia. The relative youth of the population helps to explain this, but the actions of Joaquim Chissano, of the government, and of the Frelimo since 1986 may explain it better.

If it were not for the life-sized statue erected in the center of the city, it could be said that there are more reminders of Samora in Harare, Zimbabwe, than here in Maputo.

His name is not mentioned in any official discourse and the gigantic photograph of him that was displayed some years ago on the municipal chamber building disappeared from Maputo without any explanation.

Gradually, the old ideology of the regime was dropped and the posts were filled by other men. Marcelino dos Santos, the already "historic" number two man of the party and the state, is still the vice president of the Frelimo and president of the Assembly of the Republic, but he is the only one. Oscar Monteiro is in Paris and Jorge Rebelo is now the manager of a public enterprise.

Equally significant is the fact that the present government has held over only six ministers from former times, many of whom are in decline within the party structure. Mario Machungo, the prime minister, is one of them. The others are Alberto Chipande, Armando Guebuza (the negotiator in Rome), Pascoal Mocumbi, Mariano Matimbe, and Jacinto Veloso, the only white man who survived the Africanization of the leadership.

Almost no one still speaks of any of the rest of them.

Sebastiao Marcos Mabote, former chief of staff of the Armed Forces, who was recently acquitted of charges of planning a coup d'etat, is the only one who still attracts some attention because no one knows what he is going to do next.

The balance of power within the Frelimo has thus become extremely difficult to define; it is a "puzzle."

Joaquim Chissano, who is far from being considered a popular figure, is known by his old and new ideas that are part of the Frelimo, which apparently is out of trump cards, having made so many mistakes over the years.

And while the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and Afonso Dhlakama are not, obviously, very popular in Maputo, the feeling at this moment is that the future of party politics in this country will be played out in Nampula and Zambezia, two provinces which the

Frelimo does not control and which, together, should represent almost 40 percent of the next Assembly of the Republic.

[Box, p 14]

#### Maputo Training Ninjas

The Mozambican Government is going to create a special police force, similar to the one Luanda created with the celebrated "Ninjas." The new force will be the exclusive responsibility of the minister of the interior, i.e., of the Frelimo, with absolutely no control by the Renamo.

This decision, revealed in Maputo by the independent daily MEDIA FAX, was immediately denied by Armando Guebuza, the government's principal negotiator for the accords signed in Rome. In his denial, Guebuza acknowledged the need to strengthen the police force during the transition period, providing it, as is the case, with heavy military materiel.

Two days ago in Maputo, the Assembly of the Republic, totally controlled by the Frelimo, approved a new law by which the Mozambican Police Force will be defined as a public and paramilitary organ; its members are immediately authorized to possess and to use all "suitable means" in the performance of their duties.

#### \* Dhlakama's Views

93AF0266B Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Dec 92 p 15

[Report on interview with Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) leader Afonso Dhlakama, by Eduardo Mascarenhas, in December in Maringue: "General Quarters in Gorongosa"; first paragraph is DIARIO DE NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] In the next few days, the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is going to open a national headquarters in Maputo. However, Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama only wants to go there from time to time.

"The political struggle will continue to be planned from my general headquarters in Gorongosa. I am accustomed to direct my operations from here and this is where the center of the communications network with all my men is installed," Dhlakama said when he received me a few days ago in Maringue, near Gorongosa.

Afonso Dhlakama is still refusing to form a government of conciliation, "because it is impossible to put a lion together with a gazelle," and he persists in the opinion that the elections ("which the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] does not want") are the best solution for the stabilization of the peace process and the institutionalization of a new state of politics in Mozambique.

Now that the guns are silenced ("the Renamo troops have orders not to react to any provocation"), the

declared objective is to win a majority in the presidential and legislative elections, or, "if this is not what the public wants," as some of those closest to Dhlakama are saying, to win enough votes to enable the movement to develop an effective and constructive opposition.

Dhlakama stated this position when he signed the peace accord in Rome and he reiterated it insistently in the long conversation we had in the shadow of Gorongosa.

"Mozambique will not be Angola!" I heard this exclamation countless times in Maputo, from the man in the street, but also from cadres. Dhlakama voiced it at the beginning of our conversation, to describe the current climate in the country.

In Maringue, I wanted to test the spirit with which the Renamo leader's general staff is facing the process of stabilizing the peace. I did so in a casual, discreet way, in evening conversations in the heat of the African night. No one used the word "defeat" to describe a (possible) election result below 50 percent.

"Democracy is a very beautiful thing; we feel happy to have achieved it, and we will become the opposition with good grace if this is the will of the people, because our objective is not power for the sake of power." This is what I invariably heard. When I provoked debate, declaring that a party exists to win and exercise power, it was—also invariably—impossible not to detect a scandalized reaction among the speakers, the result of the "message" that has been passed inside the Renamo, which might be construed as political ingenuousness but which, according to Dhlakama, reflects a firm will to create a stable environment for the reconstruction and development of Mozambique.

#### Navigational Warning

However, Dhlakama warned: "Those who see a sign of weakness in our position, and who, because they have been in politics longer than we have, are convinced that this will enable them to get around the Renamo with the greatest of ease, will be disappointed."

During the war, Afonso learned the value of intelligence. He is aware that in Maputo (as I learned, even including from an impartial diplomatic source) there are people who believe that once 15,000 of the [total troop strength of] 21,000 soldiers declared by the Renamo are integrated in the new unified Armed Forces and the remaining 6,000 (theoretically elderly or adolescent) are demobilized, there will be no major difficulty in "penning in" the movement politically. Anyone who holds this theory, Dhlakama promised, is in for "big surprises."

He has also outlined a strategy. He would not go into detail, but it involves time and other factors.

He knows that the peace process is behind schedule and the conditions are not in place to hold the elections next

October, as planned, but at best three or four months later, if the rains have stopped.

Until then, Afonso Dhlakama plans to intensify the activities of the political cadres in the cities. Some of these cadres, he said, are still in a semiclandestine situation. He intends to attract the support of intellectuals who are disillusioned with the Frelimo and to appeal to Mozambicans living abroad to return home.

On the other hand, he stressed, he is aware that it is not realistic to believe it is possible, in this phase, to hold minimally credible elections in every small settlement in the country.

Hence he will opt to promote the creation of electoral "circles" that will constitute a "sample" of the population, in which the vote may be effectively supervised and which, he adds, will serve as "laboratories."

Dhlakama holds that the errors that others ("the government") commit, "not allowing international organizations to take food and health aid deep into the interior of such provinces as Nampula and Zambezia, claiming that these regions have been abandoned by the population," will in the end work in favor of the Renamo. As he explained, "the process administered from Maputo has resulted in the migration of people who are favorable to the Renamo and who will tend to settle in zones where the vote is decisive."

On the military level, Afonso Dhlakama let it be known that he feels he also holds trump cards. He has no other intent than one who subscribes to an insurance policy.

He said he accepted the confinement to base of the pre-established number of men and the demobilization of others, but he frowned when we alluded to the formation of a single army.

"This will not come about formally until after the elections. The treaty speaks of the formation of a single army, which in our opinion means the meshing of cadres. It would make no sense to carry out the whole process without the absolute guarantee of postelection stability. We will accept the results, but we do not know what the Frelimo will do in the meantime...."

#### Absent Friends

Meanwhile, we have learned that the English, excluded some months ago by Dhlakama (against Joaquim Gossano's judgment) from the leadership of the group charged with the formation of the single army, have returned to "corral" the Renamo, intensifying the vacuum that others are constructing. [as published]

The English offered the movement the possibility that the troops who will constitute the single army could be trained in Nyanga, in Zimbabwe.

They promised Dhlakama residency in Great Britain for his wife Rosaria and his children, allegedly with better conditions than those provided for them in Portugal.

Afonso is aware of the risks inherent in a positive response. He senses the need for freedom of choice among the various offers of support, some of which he admits, with some sorrow, have not been forthcoming, as he had hoped after the signing of the peace accords. "Even some of our Portuguese friends whom we were counting on have disappeared," he complained.

[Box, p 16]

#### Chissano's Irritation

Robert Mugabe and Afonso Chissano were enemies for years. Each man had his reasons.

At one point the Renamo even posted notices offering a reward for the head of the president of Zimbabwe. Today, thanks to the influence of businessman Tiny Rowlands, everything has changed. Last Thursday in Harare, Mugabe and Dhlakama even appeared on television with joined hands and smiles of complicity.

The story of the rapprochement is known. What few people know is that, in one of the meetings in Rome, specifically the one at which Joaquim Chissano was present for the first time, Mugabe suggested to Dhlakama that they converse in their respective dialects, Chona and Ntatu, since they are from neighboring tribes. Those who witnessed the scene say that Joaquim Chissano almost sulked. He saw himself in the role of a Greek listening to a conversation between a Castilian and a Portuguese.

#### \* Opposition Leader

93AF0266C Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 18 Dec 92 p 16

[Interview with Lutero Simango, leader of the National Convention Party (PCN), by Armando Rafael in Maputo, date not given: "United Against Chissano"; first two paragraphs are DIARIO DE NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] "The Mozambican opposition must unite for the presidential elections and put forward a single candidate against Chissano." So said Lutero Simango, the son of Uria (one of the vice presidents of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] in the era of Eduardo Mondlane) and leader of the National Convergence [as published] Party [PCN].

In this interview granted to DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, Lutero Simango, who grew up in Tanzania, is now, at age 32, assuming the leadership after a new generation's rupture with the party in power. This does not mean an alliance with Afonso Dhlakama's Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. "Our feeling," he explained, "is that it is necessary to create a balance of power between the two."

[Rafael] In 1990, in its manifesto, the PCN advocated dialogue with the Renamo. Does it hold the same position now?

[Simango] Yes, but at that time the objectives were different. Two years ago, we were saying that it was only through dialogue between the Frelimo and the Renamo that the war could be ended. Today, what is essential is a dialogue of reconciliation.

[Rafael] Does this dialogue exist?

[Simango] No. Incidentally, what we fear now is that Mozambique is headed for a two-party system, and that, in the name of the peace accords, the Frelimo and the Renamo will make all the decisions, ignoring third parties. If things develop this way, Mozambique could arrive at a situation similar to the one which occurred in Angola.

[Rafael] What does the PCN propose?

[Simango] It proposes a multiparty conference, in which everyone can discuss the country's problems and not just the interests of the two parties that were in conflict. But as far as we know, Afonso Dhlakama has already begun to defend this position.

[Rafael] Does this mean that you maintain contacts with the Renamo?

[Simango] No. Up to now the only contact we have had with the Renamo was with its secretary general, Anselmo Vitor. We have attempted to speak with Raul Domingos (leader of the delegation in Maputo), but without success. Well, this attitude is not favorable to dialogue. The Renamo should be the opposition and not the opposition to the opposition.

[Rafael] And do you have contacts with the Frelimo?

[Simango] No, but things are different with the Frelimo. We are the opposition and in this sense we have nothing to discuss with them. Up to now we have confined ourselves to a recent contact with the presidency of the Republic, which wanted to know what the PCN thought about the composition of the various commissions provided for in the accords, which enabled us to insist on the need for a multiparty conference and openness in the transition process.

[Rafael] What do you think of the Rome Accords?

[Simango] That they have many lacunas.

[Rafael] Of what kind?

[Simango] For example, right in the first protocol, the action of the government is limited, but not that of the Assembly of the Republic, which is free to legislate on matters that it understands very well. And the second protocol recognizes the existence of the parties, but the law says nothing about the respective installing commissions, nor about their financing, which, in practice, means simply the recognition of the Renamo.

[Rafael] And there are others?

[Simango] Certainly. The third protocol establishes that the presidential and legislative elections will be held at the same time, a principle with which we are not in agreement, and provides that the National Election Commission will be divided between the Frelimo and the Renamo, in a ratio of two to one. In the fourth protocol it is agreed that, during the transition period, the president of the Republic will remain in control of the police and of the State Intelligence and Security Services (SISE), which, in practice, will permit Chissano to create a real shadow army.

[Rafael] But from everything you have told me so far, am I to conclude that the PCN is disposed to form an alliance with the Renamo?

[Simango] No. In a first phase, I think we should hold elections to see who is who, considering the enormous proliferation of parties. Incidentally, this is why the PCN argues for holding legislative elections before the presidential elections, and in the presidential elections we would not like to see 10 or 15 candidates running, as they did in Angola. For this reason, we feel that, in the presidential election, the opposition should be united against Chissano.

[Rafael] Then, you are disposed to support Dhlakama?

[Simango] On the contrary. We want an effective separation of powers, a president who places himself above all the parties and who agrees to change the Constitution. If Dhlakama places himself in this position, then the PCN could support him.

[Rafael] And if Chissano accepts these conditions?

[Simango] This is out of the question. Chissano is responsible for all the mistakes that the Frelimo has made and he has never separated himself from them.

[Box, p 16]

### What Happened to Uria?

As his father's son, Lutero Simango cannot be indifferent to the fate of Uria Simango and Lazaro Kavandame, former Frelimo leaders who broke with Samora Machel and Marcelino dos Santos soon after the death of Eduardo Mondlane.

Expelled from the Frelimo in the late 1960's, both of them were lured back to Mozambique following independence and held in one of the infamous reeducation camps in Niassa, in the north of the country. In the early 1980's, they were executed by firing squad, as were Joana Simeao and many other opponents of the Frelimo, which has never admitted responsibility for these deaths.

Today Lutero is not hesitant to demand explanations, and he does so in such a way that one can foresee the headaches that this topic will still create for the Frelimo. "Since the Law of Amnesty was passed," Lutero stresses, "all the political prisoners—and there are more than 1,000 of them—should be liberated. As for those who are

not, I feel the government must explain what happened to them and where they are."

## Zambia

### Remaining ANC Cadres Declared Illegal Immigrants

MB1001183693 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] cadres who are reluctant to return to South Africa have been declared illegal immigrants in Zambia after forfeiting their refugee status.

Reports from Lusaka say about 700 South Africans, most of them ANC members, had resisted repatriation to South Africa by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and had remained in Zambia. Zambian Home Affairs office said that the deadline for voluntary repatriation of the South Africans had passed and that there was now no reason for them to be accorded refugee status.

In terms of Zambia's immigration laws, illegal immigrants can now be detained and deported to their home country.

## Zimbabwe

### Minister Announces Peacekeeping Force for Somalia

MB1101133493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1256 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Harare Jan 11 SAPA—Zimbabwe will send between 150 to 169 peacekeeping troops to Somalia this week. Minister of Defence Moven Mahachi told ZIANA national news agency on Monday [11 January]. He said two missions would be sent to Somalia. The first contingent would be co-funded by the Zimbabwe Government and the United States. The second would be funded by the United Nations. The minister said an advance team which had gone to assess the situation in Somalia was now back in the country, paving the way for sending a peacekeeping force this week.

Asked to comment on reports that a number of Zimbabwe National Army soldiers were complaining at being drafted into the Somalia-bound peacekeeping force, Mr Mahachi said: "As an army we do not operate that way. Officers who are assigned to go have to go".

### Foreign Minister Denies Providing Bases for PAC

MB1101074793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0728 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Harare Jan 10 SAPA—Zimbabwe denied on Sunday that it provided training bases for the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC].



Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said the South African Government had made false accusations to this effect to the Goldstone Commission of inquiry, ZIANA National News Agency reported.

It was trying to find excuses to resume cross border raids, Mr Shamuyarira said.

"I want to say emphatically that we do not have any PAC bases in this country," he said, adding that accusations

that PAC cadres were trained in camps in Bindura and Gwanda were totally untrue.

Mr Shamuyarira said Zimbabwe's foreign policy towards South Africa would only change when the majority of people were politically empowered. It would move to full cooperation if elections were held in 1993.

But there would be no cooperation for as long as the black majority had no power.



**Cape Verde****Prime Minister Announces Enterprises Privatization***AB0901180093 Paris AFP in French 0940 GMT 6 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Praia, 6 Jan (AFP)—The Cape Verdian prime minister, Mr. Carlos Veiga, announced that the near privatization of state enterprises will be completed within four years and a reform program for the establishment of a liberal economy will be rapidly drawn up.

Two years after his coming to power at the head of the sole opposition party, the Movement for Democracy [MPD], which put an end to 18 years of a single party regime, Mr. Veiga told AFP: "The MPD message was understood." "Private initiative is becoming more and more important in the development process since up to now, the entire economy was in the hands of the state," he added.

"All sectors will be affected by the privatization policy," Mr. Veiga said, adding that the number of civil servants, estimated at 12,000, will have to be "gradually reduced by half, without resorting to any dismissal."

"Measures to incite people to retire will be taken and also no civil servant will be hired in 1993 by the administration," he added.

Mr. Veiga further said that the economic reforms were not undertaken as part of the Structural Adjustment Program scheme designed by the IMF or the World Bank. "We have set up our own development program," he said.

He pointed out that the current reforms were also affecting the administration and the national education sector. "Our administrative structures are too heavy and generate a bureaucracy that ought to be fought," he added.

Corruption is virtually unknown within the Cape Verdian administration but due to habits inherited from the single party management, any administrative move is blocked by total inertia.

Mr. Veiga announced the creation of a "techno-professional" branch, and recalled that no vocational schools or higher learning institutions existed in Cape Verde, a situation which forces Cape Verdians to pursue their education abroad.

On a strict political level, Mr. Veiga blamed the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, which led the country to independence in 1975 and up to 1991, for "damaging through its critics the image of the country abroad."

"We should reach a consensus to defend an image that is globally positive," he said. [passage omitted]

**Ghana****Fourth Republic Inaugurated; Rawlings Sworn In***AB0801180693 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Ghana's Fourth Republic was inaugurated at a colorful ceremony in Accra this afternoon. The two-hour long ceremony at the Independence Square was attended by thousands of people, including representatives from 78 countries and international organizations. The climax of the ceremony was the swearing in of the president-elect, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Philip Archer. [passage omitted]

The vice president, Mr. K.N. Arkaah, was also sworn in by the chief justice. President Rawlings, dressed in rich kente [local cloth], delivered his inaugural address, which was preceded by a series of patriotic songs and fanfare. President Rawlings said he has acceded to the high office conscious of his obligations:

[Begin Rawlings recording] I have solemnly sworn before you, the new parliament and the Ghanaian people, in the presence of distinguished guests from far and near, an oath which testifies to the fact that I do not accede to this office with any signs of personal triumph but with humble dedication to the service and well-being of the entire people of Ghana. [applause]

Those of us to whom the people have given the mandate to exercise the trust and authority of government, the members of parliament, the vice president, and myself, stand before the nation today, conscious of our obligation to serve the nation's interest. As we embark upon the next stage of our historic journey, it is fitting that I should express sincere thanks, on behalf of my colleague members of the Provisional National Defense Council, to the entire people of Ghana, whose unflinching courage and marvelous creativity have been a source of strength and inspiration over the past 11 years.

I offer my deep gratitude to all those who have served as colleagues and as members of a team, working toward a common goal. Whether or not you are called upon to serve further, I shall always value your contributions. Our shared sense of purpose, which has sustained us, will undoubtedly remain amongst us.

It is also fitting that we should acknowledge the goodwill and support of the international community in our efforts to work towards the [word indistinct] goal and economic advancement of our nation. To the many representatives of nations and international organizations who are here today, it is my pleasant duty to express the appreciation of our people for your understanding and assistance.

I wish to congratulate the National Democratic Congress under the chairmanship of Mr. Issifu Ali and the vice

chairman as well as the entire membership of the Progressive Alliance, the chairman, and the vices for supporting our principles and for providing our noble peasants, fishermen, our [word indistinct] and craftsmen, factory and office workers, soldiers as well as other security personnel and all those who have stood solidly behind us these principles since 31 December 1981. What a democratic channel for political expression in these past months!

The chairman and members of the Interim National Electoral Commission [INEC] have valiantly discharged their duties to the satisfaction of the people of Ghana and reputable international observers, even in the face of logistic constraints as well as the ingratitude and even vicious abuse of some. We register the appreciation of the nation for the efforts of INEC.

Fellow citizens, over the past 11 years, we have all worked very hard in an attempt to put in place the kind of foundation that can best guarantee the stability, growth, and development of our nation. All that has happened in the past decade cannot be divorced from today's new constitutional order. To do so would mean distorting our history and pushing aside those vital lessons which would indeed enrich this phase of our experience. No one can fail to appreciate the significance of the 31 December revolution in bringing us to the threshold of the Fourth Republic and in establishing firm principles of social justice, which will make the Constitution a living reality.

Noble countrymen and women, I have today sworn to uphold and defend the sacred trust reposed in me by the will of the people. My pledge of service and dedication is not a mere ceremonial promise, but will be manifested in actions arising from my respect for the freedom potential and inherent dignity of each one of my fellow Ghanaians. [applause] [end recording]

#### **Opposition Parties To Give Government 'Chance'**

AB0901155793 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] The Interparty Coordinating Committee of the four parties which boycotted the parliamentary elections has indicated that it will, as it put it, tolerate the present institutional arrangements under the Fourth Republic in the interest of peace in the country. This is because its vision of the Fourth Republic is a nation united in purpose and aspiration. This was disclosed at a news conference in Accra today, attended by Professor Adu-Boahen of the New Patriotic Party, Dr. Hilla Limann of the People's National Convention, and Prof. Naa Afarley Sackeyfio of the National Independence Party.

An address read on behalf of the Committee by Prof. Adu-Boahen called on their supporters to give the NDC [National Democratic Congress]-led government a chance to prove that it is genuinely interested in multi-party democracy. The Committee said the four parties have resolved to play the role of an effective opposition

outside parliament and would soon announce a shadow cabinet to monitor the government's activities to ensure that they are within the framework of the Constitution.

It called for an unconditional amnesty for all Ghanaians outside the country and an open and transparent approach to the divestiture program. The Committee also called for the establishment of what it called an independent electoral commission and the replacement of the voters register with one based on national identity cards, while all paramilitary organs are disbanded. It rejected the declaration by President Rawlings that the Constitution will be interpreted in the spirit of the principles of the 31 December revolution. The Committee however commended the president's recent consultations with business and trade union leaders, and urged the government to extend the spirit of consultation to the political arena. It further called on the government to review the budget and come out with one that will pay attention to, what it described as, the welfare of the average Ghanaian.

#### **Ivory Coast**

##### **PRC's Qian Qichen Makes 'Technical Stopover'**

AB1101095393 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaîne Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] On his way from Mauritania, where he paid a two-day official visit, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who is now on his way to Cameroon, made it a point to stop over in our country late yesterday afternoon. According to him, this stopover was necessary to uphold the exemplary relations which our country maintains with the PRC. Upon his arrival, Qian Qichen said he was happy to come to our country.

[Begin Qian recording in Mandarin, [unclear] into French translation] In fact, I am just passing through Abidjan. In fact, this is just a technical stopover here. Presently, I am on an official visit to five African countries and I am very happy to have stopped over here, although I am just passing through. Almost six months ago, that is to say in June 1992, I accompanied PRC President Yang Shangkun on a visit to your country and you gave us a very warm welcome. This is why I am very happy to return here although I am just passing through. I feel the relations between our two countries are growing normally as envisaged by the leaders of our two countries. This development is very gratifying, because there are regular exchanges of visits among the leaders of the two countries. [end recording]

#### **Liberia**

##### **ECOMOG Sinks Vessels Delivering Weapons to NPFL**

AB0901084993 London BBC World Service in English 0600 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The West African intervention force in Liberia [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, ECOMOG] says it has sunk two

vessels attempting to deliver weapons to the country's main armed faction, Mr. Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front. A statement by the West African force said gunboats destroyed the vessels off the Liberian port of Buchanan after deciding it would be too dangerous to board them.

The force is attempting to apply sanctions imposed at a summit of West African leaders in November after the National Patriotic Front refused to agree to a cease-fire. Reports yesterday from the capital, Monrovia, said there was more fighting between West African troops and Mr. Taylor's forces around the eastern suburb of Johnsonville.

[Monrovia Radio ELBC in English at 0900 GMT on 9 January adds: "In addition, three other ships carrying fuel and military hardware to the NPFL have been arrested and seized by ECOMOG. ECOMOG is warning all shipowners to stop transporting war items to the NPFL or face similar (?attacks) from its air task force."]

#### **Taylor on ECOMOG, Nigerian Pressure on Guinea**

*AB1001160093 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 0700 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] The National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] says the Nigerian Government of General Ibrahim Babangida is presently applying serious pressure on the Guinean Government of Lansana Conte to permit his country to be used by dissident forces and ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] to wage war on Greater Liberia [words indistinct].

According to the commander in chief of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, President Charles Gankay Taylor, the West African forces of aggression and occupation and ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] are planning to attack Greater Liberia even if the United Nations cease-fire came into effect. Commander in Chief Taylor strongly warned the Guinean Government to refrain from harboring ECOMOG and ULIMO for any attack on the NPFL from Guinea as the NPFL will not compromise its [words indistinct] which have cut back dissident forces from Guinea.

#### **Cabinet Reiterates Commitment to Peace Struggle**

*AB0801101393 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 0700 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] The Liberian leader, Charles Gankay Taylor, has declared 1993 as the year of discipline, hard work and courtesy. According to an Information Ministry release, at a three-hour Cabinet meeting on Monday [4 January], President Taylor expressed satisfaction in his Cabinet, the assembly, government employees, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], and sympathizers of the government.

During the past year, more strategies have been formulated to improve the living standard of the Liberian people in 1993. The chief executive used the occasion to commend the gallant men and women of the NPFL for renewed steadfastness in the defense of the nation since the 15 October unprovoked attack launched by ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] against the people of Liberia.

Also at the meeting, the Cabinet reiterated its commitment to the struggle of the Liberian people in the search for peace and genuine democracy in the country. The Cabinet then presented President Taylor a gift in appreciation of his hard work and dedication to the people's struggle in the quest for peace and democracy in the country.

At the same time, President Taylor has appointed four Cabinet committees to steer some major government activities during the civil crisis. The committees include agriculture, commerce, health, and a specific committee on social welfare. The committee on agriculture will be headed by Dr. Roland Massaquoi; the committee on commerce by Norwood Langley; the health committee by Acting Minister Arthur Say; and social welfare committee by Planning and Economic Affairs Minister Aaron Payne.

The term of reference of the various committees set up by President Taylor will be to ensure that basic and needed commodities are available to the Liberian people during this crisis period.

President Taylor, also commander-in-chief of the NPFL, is to shortly appoint a committee on veteran affairs. This committee, according to President Taylor, will exclusively cater to all wounded soldiers of the NPFL.

#### **NPRA Ready 'To Enter Dialogue' for Settlement**

*AB0801100293 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 0700 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] The National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly [NPRA] government says while it remains now ready to enter dialogue for a negotiated settlement to the Liberian crisis, the mandate of the All Liberian Conference which empowered the NPRA to defend the nation and its people at all times against enemy attacks, will not be compromised. The government said the security of the state remains foremost.

Speaking recently to the press on security matters relating to the current aggression against the Liberian people by the West African fighting force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], President Taylor said the NPRA government is fully committed to the just cause of liberating the Liberian people. He said the government has deliberately slowed down the campaign of hot



pursuit against enemies of the people by taking on a defensive posture and in honor of a cease-fire (?call) by the UN Security Council.

President Taylor called on those who are still thinking that they can militarily defeat the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] to think twice and choose dialogue because their calculation is wrong and there can be no military victory over the determined people of Liberia. He said for the sake of peace the full extent of the military capability of the NPFL has not been demonstrated and hoped others concerned will give peace a chance.

#### **Radio Cites Ivorian Leader's Advice on Conflict**

*AB0901123993 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] Reports from the Ivory Coast say the Ivorian Government has been admonished to take all necessary steps to end the present Liberian conflict. According to Radio La Cote d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast Radio] monitored in Monrovia yesterday, the call was made by Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny during a Cabinet meeting this week in Abidjan. The radio quotes President Houphouet-Boigny as saying it is time for the entire Ivorian Government or Cabinet to truly commit itself to the Liberian peace process and force the rebel leader, Charles Taylor, to abide by the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

President Houphouet-Boigny reportedly told his Cabinet [word indistinct] that the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebel leader Charles Taylor is frustrating peace efforts in Liberia. This, the Ivorian leader noted, was the [words indistinct] President Houphouet-Boigny also hoped that 1993 will bring total peace to Liberia and enable Liberians to reconstruct their lives following three years of war.

### **Mali**

#### **National Assembly Adopts Bills To Develop North**

*AB0901182093 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 4 Jan 93*

[Text] The National Assembly this morning unanimously adopted three bills—two from the prime minister's office and one from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Two of the bills concern the development of the northern part of the country at a cost of over 8 billion CFA francs. Foreign Affairs Minister Mohamed Alhousseini Toure and Baba Diarra, secretary general of the government, represented the government at the debate. Braima Camara has the details:

[Camara] Among the three bills adopted this morning by the members of parliament two are on the development of the northern region. They are the bill on the Nyiasenke Lake Zone Development Project, and the bill

on the setting up of a food security program in the Kidal district. The two bills, initiated by the prime minister's office and financed jointly with our development partners, will cost 4.5 billion CFA francs and 4.842 billion CFA francs respectively.

The Nyiasenke Lake Zone Development Project will help achieve the government's food self-sufficiency policy as it will exploit 240 hectares of rice plantation and 140 hectares for gardening and developing three lakes and ponds. The second project on food security and revenue earning in the Kidal area is aimed at bringing security in food production and revenue for the inhabitants of the Kidal area, and the resettlement of the inhabitants who have moved to other parts of the country—Kidal, Gao, Timbuktu—as well as to Algeria.

No problems were encountered adopting the bill authorizing the ratification of the main agreement signed on 9 June 1978 between the Government of Mali and the UN Development Program [DP]. This bill, initiated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, defines the basic conditions in which the UN DP and executing organizations will assist the Malian Government in carrying out these development projects.

### **Niger**

#### **Tuareg Rebels Attack Rally, Take Hostages**

*AB1001123593 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Niamey, Jan 10 (AFP)—At least four people died and several others were taken hostages when Tuareg rebels attacked a meeting of the former sole ruling party at Abbala, a government official announced Sunday [10 January].

A troop commander, two brigadiers and a driver from the National Movement for a Developing Society (MNSD) were killed in the attack Saturday, Secretary of State for Youth Idi Gado said on national radio. Party chairman Tanja Mamadou was safe, he added.

Three members of the Republican Guard and several civilians were wounded and other civilians were kidnapped by the assailants. The exact circumstances of the attack, the first on a political rally, were still not known Sunday.

In the past 16 months, 53 people, including 25 rebels, died in the conflict pitting the Air and Azawak Liberation Front (FLAA) against government forces in the north of the Sahel nation. The FLAA in an ultimatum issued on December 31 called on the government to release all people detained since late August for their alleged links to the rebels, warning that attacks would otherwise intensify. The Niger press agency ANP reported earlier this month. Late last month, authorities announced that 57 people had been freed while 72 others would remain in custody.



**Foreign Relations Official Comments**

*LD1001205493 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] The Tuareg rebellion launched a surprise attack yesterday to the northeast of Niger's capital Niamey. They attacked a meeting of the former ruling party in Abala. According to incomplete figures, at least four people were killed and several others wounded. Tandja Mamadou, former interior minister and president of the National Movement for the Society and Development [MNSD], escaped injury. In any case the Front for the Liberation of the Air and Azawad [FLAA] is claiming responsibility for this attack. Mohamed Aoutcheki, who is in charge of foreign relations, spoke to Murielle Pomponne:

[Begin recording] [Aoutcheki] The Abala attack was carried out by the FLAA. It was quite simply a warning to the present transition. This is not because the FLAA opposes the democratic process, far from it, but because it is time that those responsible for the transition understand that the exclusion of the Tuareg community cannot continue.

[Pomponne] But by targeting the MNSD, you have not especially got at a party that is part of the transition?

[Aoutcheki] But what is in our opinion inadmissible today is that a man like Tandja is being allowed to put himself forward as a candidate in the presidential elections, while the courts before which he should appear in connection with the massacre at Tchén Tabaraden did not clarify the extent to which he was responsible. [end recording]

**Police Disperse Demonstrators in Niamey 7 Jan**

*AB0701144393 Dakar PANA in English 1418 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Niamey, 7 Jan (ANP/PANA) - Anti-riot police in Niamey on Thursday morning [7 January] used tear gas to disperse a crowd of demonstrators who were urging the government to take action to save this year's academic year. Several demonstrators, who included pupils, students, parents as well as teachers, were injured while a number of vehicles were damaged.

About 5000 peaceful marchers had gathered in front of the offices of the High Council of the Republic (Niger's transitional legislative body) with the intention of marching to the prime minister's office, where a police cordon had already formed.

On realising that the prime minister, Amadou Cheiffou, was not present, the demonstrators headed for the presidential palace where they hoped to meet him. They broke through the gates and entered the court.

Shortly after 10.30 GMT, the police came in and started to disperse the crowd using tear gas canisters. Several

people, especially pupils, received minor injuries in the stampede while others fainted after inhaling the gas.

Some of the demonstrators threw stones at the police who reacted by chasing them away in various directions. A good number of the demonstrators ran for shelter in the premises of ministries, breaking the wind screens of any administrative vehicles they found on their way.

**Effects of Togolese Strike on Economy Noted**

*AB0901063793 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 5 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] The strike that has been paralyzing Togo for eight weeks now has had serious effects on Niger's economy, especially in the transport of goods. In fact, Lomé is the second most important port for shipped goods bound for Niger. Today, with the strike still going on, almost 3,000 tonnes of our goods have been locked up at the Lomé port. If even a shortage of stock is not yet being felt in Niger, several traders have been seriously affected. To know more about this, Saidou Moshie Bouraima met with Balla Sulley, director of traffic at the Niger Council for the Users of Public Transport [CNUTP]. First, he explains the situation at the Lomé port.

[Begin recording] [Sulley] In fact, there has been a strike going on in Lomé for the past eight weeks, causing a blockade at the port. According to the latest information received from our Lomé office on 30 October, there is a 3,000-tonne stock, made up of various products, held up there.

[Bouraima] Well, in this case, does this situation threaten the supply of goods to the country?

[Sulley] I would say immediately no. The supply of goods continues, particularly through the Cotonou port. That is to say that the goods which must pass through the Port of Lomé have been diverted to Cotonou. At any rate, this poses real problems for individual traders, because their activities are disturbed. Their programs are disturbed and their stocks blocked. Also, there is the possible risk of damage, as well as the problem of security.

[Bouraima] What is the immediate solution envisaged?

[Sulley] I would like to say that the possible solution is the deviation of the supply route to Cotonou. But this deviation is just a temporary measure. As you know, every port, especially the Cotonou and Lomé ports, perform specific duties. Products which pass through the Lomé port are those with high value-added taxes and can support relatively high transport fares. These must reach Niger within a relatively short time. On the other hand, balanced goods, which cannot support high transport fares, pass through the Cotonou port and take more time to arrive in Niger. So, businessmen have the choice between these two ports. Presently, all the goods have been diverted to Cotonou. This is a temporary measure, because this situation cannot last. As I have already said,

the businessmen have no choice [as heard], and also because in the medium- and long-terms, Niger cannot continue to be served only by one port, because we do not know what may happen tomorrow or the next day at the Cotonou port, especially as our third port, Lagos, is not used very much by our traders. Despite the efforts made by the CNUTP to divert some of the goods meant for Niger through this port, Niger businessmen are quite reticent. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### **Presidential, Legislative Elections Slated for 6 Feb**

AB0801105293 Dakar PANA in English 1033 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Niamey, 8 Jan. (ANP/PANA)—Both presidential and legislative elections have been scheduled to take place in Niger on 6 February 1993, the secretary of state for sports, Idi Gabo, said in Niamey on Thursday [7 January]. Gabo said the decision to hold the two elections on the same day had been endorsed by the Council of Ministers which met earlier. He [said] that the ballot papers for the presidential elections had been produced while the government was making contacts with printers for the production of materials for the legislative elections.

The minister of interior and chairman of the National Elections Commission, Rabiou Daouda, said on television on Thursday that 90 million ballot papers would be required for the legislative polls. Daouda said only four of the nine presidential candidates had fulfilled the required conditions to contest the elections.

### **Nigeria**

#### **Babangida Receives Message From OAU Chairman Diouf**

AB0801193293 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The president, General Ibrahim Babangida, today at the Presidential Villa, Abuja, received a special message from the chairman of the Organization of African Unity, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal. State House correspondent, B.A. Alabire, reports that the message was delivered by the Senegalese foreign minister, Mr. Djibo Leyti Ka, and it centered on issues of mutual concern.

President Babangida and the Senegalese leader, who described the Yamoussoukro accord as an adequate and proper basis for the settlement of the Liberian crisis, reaffirmed their commitment for a peaceful resolution of the conflicts on the African continent.

#### **Military Told To 'Be Alert,' Accept 'Subordination'**

AB1001161593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 2100 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] The minister of defense and chief of defense staff, General Sanni Abacha, has called on the Armed Forces

to be alert in view of recent developments, particularly with the inevitable extension of the transition program. He also urged soldiers and the men to reorientate themselves mentally and psychologically towards total acceptance of their subordination to the authority of a democratically elected civilian administration.

Gen. Abacha made the call in a New Year message. He emphasized that the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces had a responsibility to ensure a transition that guaranteed a viable Third Republic. He stated that although the Armed Forces were expected to return to the barracks, they should remain solidly behind the president and the administration until the task of the transition was successfully accomplished. He reiterated that the Armed Forces were determined that the administration will not abandon the people until the legitimate desire for viable democracy was attained.

#### **Equatorial Guinean Envoy Recalled; Drugs Cited**

AB0701211693 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Lagos, Jan 7 (AFP) - A diplomat in the Equatorial Guinea embassy in Nigeria suspected by Nigerian authorities of importing cocaine has been recalled home by Malabo, a diplomatic source said here Thursday [7 January].

The diplomat was recalled last month following an agreement between officials of the two nations that the case should not be allowed to affect negatively the friendly relations existing between Abuja and Malabo, the source said.

The diplomat, whose name was not officially disclosed in line with diplomatic practice, was interrogated after he was arrested here last October 16 at the 'Nigeria Aviation Handling Company (NAHCO)' cargo shed when he allegedly came to clear goods in which drugs were concealed, officials at the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) said [quotation marks as published].

The goods, in form of car batteries, were flown into Lagos from Brazil by Varig airline flight 794 of last October 5, they said.

The diplomat, who has about 12 children and five wives, four of whom were in Nigeria, lived in the West African nation for more than eight years, one of his close friends said.

Before his departure, he claimed to Nigerian authorities innocence of the case and believed that he might have been framed by colleagues who did not like him, the friend said.

He was the first diplomat to be intercepted over allegation of drug trafficking in Nigeria since the NDLEA was established three years ago, a reliable source said.

### Commentary Assesses Transitional Council Duties

AB1001165193 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 2100 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Commentary by Reginald Okochi]

[Text] When the transition program was extended, a number of suggestions were made on how the Federal Government should be run until a democratically elected civilian president was installed in August this year. The military authorities considered the various recommendations and decided to set up the Transitional Council, comprising distinguished Nigerians who had served this country creditably. The idea is to inject into the system men and women of integrity who will be monitoring the performance of government.

By its mandate, the Council has been charged with the day to day running of government. This is why its chairman, Chief Ernest Shonekan, was designated the head of government. The implication of this arrangement is that the military has disengaged from the conduct of the business of government. It is also an indication that the process of handing over to a civilian administration had reached a crucial stage. It is clear, therefore, that the challenges facing the Transitional Council are quite enormous. Among other things, the Council is to determine the direction of the country's domestic and foreign policies during the remaining period of transition. It will also implement this year's federal budget, complete all ongoing projects, and ensure a smooth transition from military to a democratically elected civilian president by August the 27th this year. But most importantly the Transitional Council is expected to lay a foundation that will enable the incoming civilian government to accomplish sustainable economic development.

In tackling its assignment, it is important that the Council shows reasonable sensitivity in the implementation of this year's budget. If it has to prepare a solid ground for a sustainable economic development in the Third Republic, the Council must strive to reduce the high level of deficits that had been recorded in past budgets. This is because budget deficit has been identified as a major constraint in the nation's economy. Financial prudence is necessary in completing the projects already embarked upon.

The nation's foreign policy during the eight months of transition should aim at enhancing its role in conflict resolution, particularly in Africa. But beyond that, the economic diplomacy designed to attract foreign investment to Nigeria should be pursued with greater vigor. In other words, the country's domestic and foreign policies should be properly coordinated for the purpose of reconstructing the national economy.

The Transitional Council has tested men and women who can discharge these duties. The chairman of the Council, no doubt, has a clear vision of the task ahead.

He has pledged that the Council would tackle its assignment with a deep sense of mission by giving priority to the reduction of the economic hardships facing Nigerians. What is required now is the cooperation of Nigerians to enable the Council to succeed. Hopefully, opinion leaders of the country will heed the appeal by Chief Shonekan by making inputs into the affairs of government. The appeal is particularly directed to professional bodies, the private sector, labor organizations, traditional rulers, student unions, as well as political and religious leaders. Equally important is the cooperation of the National Assembly which the council needs for successful execution of its assignment.

### Senegal

#### Refugees Flee From 'Separatist Violence' to Bissau

AB0801102093 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 7 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Guinea-Bissau is beginning to bear the brunt of the fresh upsurge of separatist violence in Senegal's remote southern province of Casamance. The trouble in Casamance has been building up recently, with dissidents launching attacks on a variety of targets and causing a fresh flow of refugees into neighboring countries. In the past few weeks, many have been fleeing into Guinea-Bissau, and Senegalese jets have been seen bombing Guinea-Bissau's territory. Anthony Goldman has been looking at the situation. Here is his report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Relief officials in Bissau confirmed today that refugees continue to cross the border from Casamance in large numbers. Some 8,000 people arrived in December alone. They say Senegalese security forces are engaged in a new offensive in the region against separatist rebels, although the authorities in Dakar have refused to confirm this. There are reports that more than 200 people have been killed in clashes between the rebels, the local population, and the Senegalese Army in the last few weeks of 1992. The situation has become extremely sensitive for relations between the Guinea-Bissau and Senegalese Governments.

Yesterday, the governor of the Province of Batata, in the east of Guinea-Bissau, complained that the Senegalese Air Force planes have again violated Guinean airspace. Last month, the government in Bissau delivered an official protest to the Senegalese authorities after Senegalese warplanes attacked the border region of Cacheu, killing two people and injuring several others. The authorities in Dakar apologized for that incident, saying that it was taking all necessary measures to make sure it would not happen again.

Diplomats in Bissau today expressed fears that the situation could deteriorate still further as Senegalese

security forces try to preempt any disruption by the rebels of next month's elections. [end recording]

### **Sierra Leone**

#### **'Rebel Incursion' Stops Mining in Pujehun**

AB0801214893 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700  
GMT 8 Jan 93

[Excerpt] All mining activities in the Pujehun District, Southern Region have been temporarily suspended until the end of the rebel incursion into Sierra Leone.

According to a January 6th release issued by the Provincial Secretary's Office in Bo, the immediate suspension of all mining operations in the region is in a bid to concentrate all efforts on the rebel war. The release further states that following a meeting with the secretary of state, Lieutenant Idriss Kamara, a large number of men, including hunters, volunteered to join the Armed Forces to prosecute the rebel war to a successful end. Following a series of meetings with the Pujehun District Descendants Association, the Bo brigade command has endorsed proposals from the various chiefdoms in the Pujehun District to allow the hunters to serve as auxiliaries to the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]



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